

T. Wale inv.et del.: J.S. Müller sc.:

The Death of JULIUS CÆSAR.

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THE

ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE

FOUNDATION of ROME

TO THE

BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the END of the COMMONWEALTH.

By Mr. CREVIER,
Professor of RHETORICK in the College of BEAUVAIS,
Being the CONTINUATION of Mr. ROLLIN's Work.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE ROMAN HISTORY, FROM THE FOUNDATION of ROME TO THE BATTLE of ACTIUM.

BOOK THE FORTY-THIRD.

PRELIMINARIES to the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey. Firſt campaign of that war. Years of Rome 701—703.

SECT. I.

The true cauſe of the war between Cæſar and Pompey was their ambition. Pompey, from his third Conſulſhip, enjoyed an almoſt abſolute authority in Rome. Cæſar's policy to prevent laying down his Command, when he had once got poſſeſſion of it. He makes creatures every where. It was no longer time to attack him, when Pompey reſolved upon it. Saying of Cicero upon that ſubject. The Conſul M. Marcellus propoſes to recall Cæſar. Some Tribunes, and the Conſul Sulpicius, op-

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ADVERTISEMENT,

Concerning Cæſar's Commentaries on the Civil War.

THE moſt compleat and authentic account we have of the two firſt campaigns of the war between Cæſar and Pompey, is, without doubt, the work univerſally known under the title of "Commentaries of Cæſar concerning the Civil War." Theſe Commentaries carry Cæſar's name, they have for ages paſſed for his work, and Suetonius quotes them as wrote by him.

Suet. Cæſ. n. 56. Notwithſtanding, many learned men ſuſpect they are not legitimate. The Grammarians, and thoſe whoſe refined taſte enters deep into the delicacy of the Latin tongue, pretend to find in them many incorrect expreſſions, or which at leaſt come not up to the ſtandard of elegancy. This is one good way of detecting things that are ſpurious; and which, ſuppoſing the fact, is of great weight; ſince, it is certain that nobody ſpoke purer Latin than Cæſar.

Juſtus Lipſius, a good judge in theſe matters, authorizes this reproach to the diction of the work we ſpeak of. * He obſerved, in this pretended Cæſar, he ſays, many paſſages unworthy of the true Cæſar. Beſides, he attacks in general the ſtyle, and manner of the narration. "How cold," adds he, "is the whole compoſition of this author, how unconnected, how negligent! He rather endeavours to ſay ſomething, than really ſays any thing: and is conſequently obſcure, and intricate. The proper fault of this writer is to ſay little in many words."

Theſe conjectures are certainly not to be deſpiſed. And what adds to their force, is a paſſage in the third book, where the writer plainly diſtinguiſhes himſelf from Cæſar. He ſpeaks of propoſals made by Libo, a Lieutenant-general of Pompey, for a truce. "Cæſar (it follows) did not think proper to give any anſwer to Libo's demands, nor do we now think it neceſſary to give an account of them to poſterity. *Quibus rebus neque tunc reſpondendum Cæſar exiſtimavit: neque nunc ut memoriæ prodatur ſatis cauſæ putamus.*" The perſons, and times, are both diſtinguiſhed: and I do not ſee how any one can doubt, but that the paſſage I quote is of another hand than Cæſar's.

Lib. III. de B. civ. n. 17.

The expreſſion itſelf, in the firſt perſon, is enough to create ſuſpicion. For we find no ſuch thing in the

* Multa in Cæſare iſto legi Cæſare veteri parum digna. Pluſcula notavi: ſed univerſa quam frigida, aut inhians & ſupina, ſæpe tota ſcriptio eſt! quam conatur potius aliquid dicere, quam dicit! Itaque obſcuritas & intricatio.—Proprium in eo ſcriptore vitium, dicere multis, nec multa. LIPS. l. I. Poliorcet. Dial. 9.

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Commentaries on the Gauliſh wars; where Cæſar always ſpeaks of himſelf in the third perſon. And yet this ſuſpicious turn is repeated, *n.* 92. of the ſame third book of the Commentaries on the Civil War. Therefore it is, I think, clear, that this laſt work is not wholly Cæſar's. I ſay not wholly: for I will not extend my ſuſpicions beyond what is proved. After a preſcription of ages, after the teſtimony of Suetonius, who lived ſo near the time of its compoſition, how can we wholly take it from Cæſar? Without doubt he directed the work, he furniſhed the materials, he overlooked it; but ſome body elſe held the pen. On this ſuppoſition, I have made no difficulty to cite theſe Commentaries as Cæſar's, both in my text, and margin. Surely he may be called their author, ſince they were wrote in his name, on his memoirs, by his order, and according to his mind.

SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS. A. R. 701.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. Ant. C. 51.

The true cauſe of the war between Cæſar and Pompey was, as every body knows, the ambition of theſe two rivals in power and glory. This is what Lucan * meant, when he ſays, that Cæſar could not bear a ſuperior, nor Pompey an equal. But this thought, like many others of this poet, who was more ingenious than judicious, is not juſt and exact. Both theſe famous competitors, whoſe quarrel divided the univerſe, had in view the firſt rank. Pompey, who was in poſſeſſion of it, would not part with it; and Cæſar wanted to deſpoil him of it. He was not a man to be ſatisfied with an equality, which indeed is in politics impracticable. He was endeavouring to make himſelf premier; nor can his ſentiments on this head be doubted, after the explanation he gave of them himſelf, when in paſſing by a village of the Alpes he made that famous ſpeech which I have mentioned in its place.

* Nec quenquam jam ferre poteſt Cæſarve priorem,
Pompeius ve parem. LUC. I. 125.

A. R. 701. Ant. C. 51. Pompey had attained that envied height by trimming between the Senate and People. Without abſolutely eſpouſing either party, he had alternately made uſe of both, as beſt agreed with his own intereſt and elevation. His third Conſulſhip made ſome alteration in his conduct. Pleaſed with the confidence the Senate had ſhewn him, by putting the whole public authority into his hands, he entered into a ſtrict union with that auguſt body; and endeavoured to merit their good opinion by making a proper uſe of the entruſted power, and by taking efficacious meaſures to reſtore peace and tranquillity in Rome. When out of office, he preſerved an authority inherent as it were in his perſon. Though he had no title of Magiſtracy, and was obliged as Proconſul of Spain to keep out of the city, yet he governed all affairs, and influenced all deliberations. He reigned indeed almoſt; but it was by the voluntary deference of his countrymen, not by force.

Suet. Cæſ. c. 30. In theſe circumſtances, if Cæſar had returned to Rome a private man, as by right he ſhould, he muſt have been ſubjected with the reſt to Pompey's power, which was ſupported by the whole Senate. He was feared and hated by that body, whom he had on all occaſions induſtriouſly attacked; and whom in particular he had treated with the utmoſt contempt, when he was Conſul. Beſides, his conduct gave his enemies ſuch hold, and he had ſo often violated the laws, that he was apprehenſive of being proſecuted, and condemned. Cato threatened him with it publickly, and Pompey perhaps had the ſame thoughts. We have obſerved that his law againſt Corruption alarmed Cæſar's friends, who thought it levelled at him. And indeed Cæſar's whole policy aimed at keeping the forces he had. After having obtained the Government of Gaul for five years, he got it prolonged for five years more. He propoſed to return home Conſul at the end of ten years, which was the interval preſcribed by the laws between the two Conſulſhips of the ſame perſon. And, that he might go immediately

ately from the Command of an army to this ſecond Conſulſhip, he had procured the unuſual privilege of being excuſed from demanding the Conſulſhip in perſon, and of being capable of a nomination, though abſent. A. R. 701. Ant. C. 51.

Theſe ſteps made Cæſar's deſigns ſo evident, that the blindeſt could not miſtake them: and the reſt of his conduct was of a piece. He uſed all ſorts of means to make himſelf creatures: always attentive to ingratiate himſelf with the People, he exhibited games and gave an entertainment to their whole body on account of his daughter's death: he began to build a ſquare, the ground of which, including without doubt the edifices he was to buy and pull down, coſt above a million ſterling: he doubled the pay of his legions: he enriched his ſoldiers by immoderate booty: in a word, he endeavoured by his unlimited generoſity to gain to his party the Military, the Magiſtracy, foreign Kings, Cities throughout the Empire; and, had it been poſſible, the whole World. So that it was very properly ſaid, that he ſubjected the Gauls with the iron of the Romans, and the Romans with the gold of the Gauls. Id. ibid. 26, 28.

It was no longer time to attack ſo formidable a power, when Pompey undertook it. He had committed one fault in leaguing with Cæſar, and giving him means of acquiring ſuch ſtrength; he committed another in breaking with him. Nothing can be more judicious than the ſaying of Cicero which is in every body's mouth: * "Would to God, Pompey, that you had never united with Cæſar; or that you had never broke with him! The firſt became your dignity and probity; the other your prudence."

However, Pompey acted at firſt very cautiouſly. It was the Conſul Marcellus, who (doubtleſs in concert with him) commenced hoſtilities. This Magiſ- Suet. Cæſ. Appian. Civ. l. II. Dio, l. 40. Plut. Cæſ. & Pomp.

* Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum C. Cæſare ſocietatem aut nunquam coiſſes, aut nunquam diremiſſes! Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiæ tuæ. Cic. Phil. II. n. 24.

A. R. 701. Ant. C. 51. trate, who was haughty and bold, publiſhed an ordinance; by which he declared, that he had ſomething to propoſe of the utmoſt importance to the Commonwealth: and in conſequence of it propoſed to the aſſembled Senate to recall Cæſar, and to order him to quit the Government of Gaul on the firſt of March of the year they were then entering on; and alſo to oblige him to demand the Conſulſhip in perſon, and not by proxy. This was puſhing Cæſar home; who would have been ruined, if the two points propoſed by the Conſul had been carried againſt him, and put in execution. But it is plain he was able to make a good defence under the ſafe-guard of two laws, of whoſe benefit they endeavoured to deprive him. They cut off two years of his Command from the term enlarged by the law of Trebonius; and they took from him a privilege granted by another law, made by the whole college of the Tribunes, and with Pompey's conſent.

Under theſe favourable circumſtances, it was not difficult for Cæſar to procure aſſiſtance from many of the Magiſtrates. Not only ſome of the Tribunes declared for him; but even the Conſul Sulpicius, a peaceable man, who by his profeſſion of a Lawyer was accuſtomed to reſpect ſcrupulouſly whatever bore the name of a law, oppoſed his Collegue. Pompey himſelf, inured to hypocriſy and tergiverſation in what he moſt deſired, affected to ſay, that Marcellus went too far; and that it was not proper to affront ſo groſsly ſuch a perſon as Cæſar, whoſe exploits had been ſo glorious and ſerviceable to the Republic. And truly Marcellus's zeal was extravagant; and ſometimes ſavoured of animoſity and hatred. Cæſar had granted to the city of Come in Ciſalpine Gaul the freedom of Italy; by the means of which, thoſe who had borne the office of firſt Magiſtrate among them, became Roman citizens. Marcellus had a mind to ſtrip the inhabitants of Come of this privilege; pretending it had been given them without lawful cauſe, merely through Cæſar's ambition and deſire to make creatures.

tures. Perhaps he was in the right. But he went ſo far as to cauſe a Burgeſs of that town, who had been its firſt Magiſtrate, to be ſcourged; bidding him go to Cæſar, and ſhew him the marks of the ſtripes. This was a puniſhment from which Roman citizens were always exempt: therefore by this action Marcellus annihilated the privileges of the colony Cæſar had founded. But he got nothing by ſo doing: it was only a wanton, fruitleſs, inſult. A. R. 701. Ant. C. 52.

Pompey, who outwardly preſerved more moderation, aimed at the ſame mark. Though he had ſeemingly diſapproved the Conſul's propoſal, he laboured to get it paſſed the next year. In this view he got elected Conſul C. Marcellus, couſin to Marcus, who was a man of the ſame principles. He thought he had carried a great point too in procuring the famous Curio, whom we have had occaſion to mention ſeveral times, to be made Tribune: he was a young Gentleman of fire, one of the firſt Orators of his time, and had always acted as Cæſar's enemy.

Cæſar, who was at leaſt as artful as his competitor, oppoſed a counter-battery. He tried to gain over C. Marcellus; but finding him incorruptible, he eſſayed L. Paulus, who had been appointed his Collegue; and bought his ſilence for about three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Paulus was paid this great ſum for only not acting againſt Cæſar: and he employed it in building a magnificent Hall at Rome, as if he intended to eternize his venality and baſeneſs. Plut. & Appian. Cæl. ad Cic. 4.

Curio ſold himſelf at a yet higher price. He had never the publick at heart, and had only joined Pompey, becauſe he had been ſlighted by Cæſar. It is ſurprizing that Cæſar ſhould have made ſuch a miſtake, contrary to his maxims; he who uſed all means to attach to his party even ſometimes the loweſt men. He perceived his error, and ſpared no coſt to rectify it. Curio had hurt his fortune by his debauchery and prodigality; he owed then above ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Cæſar paid all his debts; and thus fixed in his intereſt a man who did Val. Max. IX. 1.

A. R. 701. Ant. C. 51. did him the greater ſervice, as he affected (as we ſhall ſee) a ſort of impartiality.

Cæl. ad Cic. 4 & 8. Mean while the Conſul M. Marcellus purſued his plan, which he had only moderated and qualified. He doubtleſs conformed in this to Pompey's advice, who did not chuſe that any reſolution ſhould be made about Cæſar, before the firſt day of March of the next year; after which time he thought a ſucceſſor might be ſent him. I cannot ſee what foundation Pompey had to believe that he ſhould be ſuffered to take one, any more than two years, from Cæſar's Command. However, his will was ſo much the rule of all things, that, as he had a journey to make to Rimini, the Senate waited till his return; and on the laſt of September came, in his preſence, to a reſolution agreeable to his wiſhes.

In this reſolution it was ſaid, that the Conſuls elect, L. Paulus and C. Marcellus, ſhould on the firſt of March on the year then entering upon propoſe to the Senate, to deliberate on the affair of the Conſular provinces. (Which was a ſtudied expreſſion, to avoid ſaying plainly that they were to deliberate on Cæſar's revocation.) It was alſo added, that, when the firſt of March was come, nothing ſhould be propoſed previous to, or in concurrence with, that of the Conſular provinces. And as an oppoſition was apprehended to the decree, which was actually drawing; the Senate declared, that none of thoſe who had a right to put a negative on its decrees, ought to exert that privilege on this occaſion: and, if any one did, he would be conſidered as guilty of an attempt on the tranquillity and ſafety of the Republick. That this reſolution ſhould be regiſtered: and that the Senate ſhould conſider what courſe to take with its oppoſers. All theſe declarations, and menaces, did not hinder four Tribunes, among whom was Panſa, who had long ſerved under Cæſar, from making their formal oppoſition.

By a ſecond reſolution of the ſame day, the Senate endeavoured to weaken Cæſar, by offering diſcharges to ſuch of his ſoldiers whoſe time of ſervice was compleated,

pleated, or who for other reaſons deſired to be diſ- A. R. 701. Ant. C. 51.
banded. And laſtly, a third reſolution took into conſideration the choice of Governors of the Propræ-torial provinces, and conformed it to the regulations laſt made under the Conſulſhip of Calvinus and Meſſala, and ratified the following year. Things were now in order. But we have elſewhere ſhewed what reaſon Cæſar pretended to have to complain of theſe new reſolutions. The two laſt met with the ſame fate as the firſt; Panſa and another Tribune oppoſed them.

It was eaſy to foreſee that theſe oppoſitions would prevent the effect of the deliberations projected for the next year with reſpect to Cæſar. Some-body having made this objection to Pompey, he opened himſelf by this anſwer: "I ſee no difference between "Cæſar's diſobeying the decrees of the Senate, and "his hindering the Senate from making what decrees "they think neceſſary." "What if he is determin-"ed," replied another, "to be at the ſame time Con-"ſul and have the Command of an army?" "And "what," returned Pompey briſkly, "if my ſon was "determined to beat me?"

Theſe anſwers of Pompey, particularly the laſt, appeared harſh to Cælius; who mentions them in a letter to Cicero. But I will venture to affirm, that they fix the true point from whence we ought to view Cæſar's conduct, in order to make a proper judgment of it. He aimed at the Sovereignty of the Commonwealth; the event proves it. He was then the ſon who intended to beat his father. But he ſkilfully conceals, as much as poſſible, the odious deſign. He covers himſelf by the laws he gets made by force or intrigue. He ſcreens himſelf by the authority of venal Magiſtrates, corrupted by his bounty. By theſe means he throws a colour of legality over his ambitious proceedings. What is all this but the behaviour of an undutiful ſon; who, being reſolved to diſobey his father, and willing alſo to avoid the imputation of diſobedience, ſtops his mouth to prevent

his

A. R. 701. Ant. C. 51. his ſpeaking? It is by the light of theſe reflections that we ought to view all the chicanery by which Cæſar defended himſelf againſt the Senate above another year, before he proceeded to take up arms. And, that we may not be impoſed on by ſpecious appearances, it is ſufficient to call to mind the favourite maxim he always had in his mouth, borrowed from Eteocles in Euripides: * "If juſtice may be violated, it is to acquire Sovereignty that it is glorious to violate it; in all other things act honeſtly."

A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Dio. Appian. Plut. Curio was the inſtrument Cæſar made uſe of to diſpute the ground with, under the Conſulſhip of Paulus and C. Marcellus. This Tribune, who was a man of ſenſe, ſkilfully concealed his ſhameful deſertion of his party. He was very quiet at the entrance into his office; ſpeaking even occaſionally againſt Cæſar; yet throwing out frequently untoward propoſitions, that could not but be diſpleaſing to Pompey and the Ariſtocratic party. But ſoon after he ſought occaſions to break with them; and, in order thereto, propoſed divers laws, which he knew they would not fail to oppoſe. One of theſe laws regarded the high-ways: another was a ſort of Agrarian law, little different from that of Rullus, which had been thrown out in Cicero's Conſulſhip: and a third concerned corn and proviſions. And, in the new regulations he projected on all theſe heads, he reſerved to himſelf the chief management and authority. The Senate oppoſed theſe laws. This was what the Tribune wanted; he thought himſelf now freed from all conſideration for a body, by which he pretended he was aggrieved.

He would not however appear an abſolute partizan of Cæſar: wherefore, when the firſt of March was

* Εστιν γαρ αδικειν χρη, τυραννιδος περι καλλιστον αδικειν. τ' αλλα δ' ευσεβειν χρεων. Theſe two Greek verſes have been thus tranſlated by Cicero. "Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, Regnandi gratia violandum eſt: aliis rebus pietatem colas." Cic. de Off. III. 82.

come;

come; and the Conſul C. Marcellus, in conformity to the reſolution of the laſt of the preceding September, had propoſed to ſend a new Proconſul to Gaul; his Collegue Paulus, according to agreement, holding his peace; Curio ſpoke. He praiſed the propoſal of the Conſul Marcellus; but added, that they ought, at the ſame time that they recalled Cæſar, to order Pompey too to reſign the Government of Spain and the Command of the Legions in that province. A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50.

This was a ſpecious, favourable, turn; it was the language of a zealous Republican. The dexterous Tribune repreſented, "that what he propoſed was the only means left to inſure the publick liberty. That, if they diſarmed Cæſar only, Pompey with the forces he had the Command of would become abſolute maſter of the Empire: whereas, if they were both reduced to a private condition, the Republick would have nothing more to fear from either. But that, if they continued one in Command, they ought to leave the other wherewith to preſerve the balance." Theſe arguments, ſet in the ſtrongeſt light by one of the moſt eloquent men Rome ever produced, made a deep impreſſion. The People, among whom Pompey had loſt ground by his laws againſt Corruption, approved and applauded Curio; who thus did Cæſar the greateſt ſervice, by affecting to be neuter, and ſolely attached to the good of the Republick.

I ſay he did Cæſar the greateſt ſervice; for he knew Pompey would never reſign. This was neither his intention, nor that of the beſt heads in the Senate. And indeed the terms were not equal, as Pompey did not enter on the Government of Spain until four years after Cæſar had commanded in Gaul. But the chief and moſt eſſential difference aroſe from the diverſity of their character and conduct. Every thing was to be feared from Cæſar's unbounded ambition; whereas that of Pompey was more moderate, more circumſpect, more capable of reſpecting the laws. Curio's propoſal was accordingly rejected: but he hindered,

A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50. by his authority as Tribune, that of the Conſul from paſſing.

Pompey, on this attack of the Tribune, affected at firſt great moderation. As he was in Campania, he wrote to the Senate, "that whatever title, or power, he had, was the effect of the good-will of his fellow-citizens; not of his own ſollicitation. That, without his ſeeking, they had offered him a third Conſulſhip, and a prolongation of his Command in Spain. That he was ready freely and voluntarily to reſign, what he had accepted againſt his inclination." At his return to Rome, he talked in the ſame ſtrain; and as if he, as the old friend and father-in-law of Cæſar, was better acquainted with his diſpoſition than any one; he affirmed, and made it a matter of honour to himſelf, that he too had the ſame way of thinking. He ſaid that Cæſar, ſatiated with war and victory, deſired repoſe alone; and wiſhed for nothing more than to return to Rome, and enjoy in the boſom of his country the reward of his labours, and the honours he had merited.

He ſpoke not what he thought either as to himſelf, or Cæſar. But he deſigned to render odious by his moderation the tenacity of Cæſar. He gave up five whole years of Command, and Cæſar refuſed to lay down his, though expiring, unleſs he entered directly on the Conſulſhip. Curio was not to be thus impoſed on. He called upon him to fulfil his promiſe by an immediate reſignation. He renewed his former declaration about the only means of preſerving the liberty of the Republick; which was to take, at the ſame time, all Command both from Pompey and Cæſar. He exhorted the Senate to order them both to reſign, under pain of diſobedience; and, in caſe of refuſal, to declare them enemies to their country, and raiſe forces to reduce them. And, as he perceived his advice would not be followed, he broke up the aſſembly, without ſuffering any reſolution to be taken as to Cæſar.

Pompey

Pompey now repented heartily that he had raiſed the Tribuneſhip out of the ſtate of humiliation to which Sylla had reduced it. But it was too late, and all he could do was to endeavour to revenge himſelf on the Tribune, by the miniſtry of the Cenſor Appius. A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50.

For all circumſtances induce a belief, that this Magiſtrate undertook by agreement with Pompey to ſtigmatize Curio. He had great openings, had he attacked him on account of the conduct of his youth, which had been waſted in luxury, extravagance, and debauchery. But Appius was ſtopped ſhort by the oppoſition of his Collegue Piſo, and of the Conſul Paulus. The other Conſul Marcellus, always ready to act againſt Cæſar and all his Partizans, reſumed the affair; and pretended to bring it before the Senate. Curio oppoſed at firſt ſo unuſual a proceeding. But afterwards, finding the generality inclined to favour him, he accepted the condition, and ſubmitted himſelf to the animadverſion of the Senate. He was not deceived. In vain the Conſul Marcellus made a bitter invective againſt him; the majority of the Senators declared for Curio: and the Conſul would not go through a deliberation that could not turn out to his honour. Dio.

While the difference between Pompey and Cæſar increaſed every day, it had like to have been on a ſudden terminated by an unforeſeen accident; this was a dangerous illneſs that was near taking Pompey off: which, as Juvenal ſays, * would have been very lucky for him, had it ſo happened, that when he was at the height of proſperity and glory; as it would have ſpared him the cruel misfortunes, which two years more of life made him experience. It was at Naples he fell ill; and, when he recovered, the Neapolitans ſhewed their joy by feſtivals and ſolemn Plut. Pom.

* Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas; ſed multæ urbes & publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipſius & urbis
Servatum victo caput abſtulit.——Juv. Sat. x.

thankſ-

A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50. thankſgivings to the Gods. No ſuch thing had been done before to any Roman. But, the example once ſet, it ended not where it began. The neighbouring cities firſt followed it, and afterwards all Italy. Particularly on Pompey's route to Rome, when he returned, no place was large enough to hold the crowds that came to meet him. The roads, the villages, the ports, were filled with an incredible multitude of perſons of all ages and conditions; who offered ſacrifices, and amidſt their wine and good cheer extolled him whom Heaven had reſtored to them. Many adorned with garlands, having flambeaux in their hands, met and accompanied him; throwing flowers on him with general applauſe: ſo that his whole progreſs was one of the fineſt ſights that could be imagined. Theſe rejoicings, which ſeemed to expreſs the greateſt eſteem for, and attachment of all the Italian people to, Pompey, encouraged him much; and for that reaſon may be conſidered as one of the chief cauſes of the civil war. Until this time an extraordinary prudence, approaching ſometimes to timidity, had guided, and ſecured, his ſteps. But now, dazzled with joy and confidence, he no more ſaw any reaſon to fear, or doubt. He thought himſelf ſtrong enough to deſpiſe Cæſar; and flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to ruin him, as eaſily as he had raiſed him.

Theſe notions, which took up his thoughts, were confirmed by the diſcourſes of thoſe who brought him two Legions, that had ſerved under Cæſar. The fact is this:

The Senate, taking advantage of the general apprehenſion of an irruption of the Parthians into Syria, ordered that Pompey and Cæſar ſhould each of them furniſh a Legion to be ſent into that province. This pretence was ſo well imagined and ſeemed ſo fair, that the decree paſſed without oppoſition or difficulty. But Pompey obeyed that decree, only by giving the Legion he lent Cæſar after the diſaſter of Titurius and Cotta. Cæſar was obliged to give one of his own, ſo that this was in reality taking from him two Legions.

He

He was aware of it; yet he ſent the two Legions with A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50.
hat generoſity which always gave him an air of ſupe-
iority over his adverſaries; having firſt preſented the
oldiers with about ten pounds each. The perſons
Pompey ſent to conduct theſe Legions to him reported,
hat Cæſar was extremely hated in his army: that his
oldiers, tired out with a long, laborious, war, could
ot bear a General, who had never ſuffered them to
njoy any reſt: that Pompey would not have occaſion
or any other forces than thoſe of Cæſar to vanquiſh
nd ruin him; becauſe they would certainly abandon
im the moment they ſet foot in Italy. About the
ame time Labienus, the moſt experienced and beſt
eſteemed of Cæſar's Lieutenant-generals, liſtened to
offers for changing ſides, which he actually did
fterwards.

Theſe various events made Pompey ſo preſump-
uous, that he took no care to aſſemble a force ſuffi-
cient to make head againſt the enemy he had to deal
with. He even laughed at thoſe who were afraid of
a war; and ſomebody telling him, that, if Cæſar took
it in his head to march to Rome, there was nothing
to hinder him; Pompey anſwered, "In whatever part
"of Italy I ſtamp with my foot, there will come up
"Legions."

Cæſar's conduct was very different. Without tak- De B. Gall. viii.
ing any glaring ſtep which might be conſidered as an
hoſtility, he prepared every thing ſo as to be able to
act with vigour, when the time was come. Gaul was
in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity. His legions, in
their ſeveral quarters, only waited his orders. He
himſelf came into Ciſalpine Gaul early in the ſpring,
that he might be nearer Rome, and have an eye on
what paſſed there; but under pretence of aſſiſting with
his intereſt Mark Anthony, who had been his Quæſ-
tor, in his application for the office of Augur. For
that country was full of municipal towns and colonies,
whoſe inhabitants had the privilege of Roman citizens,
and conſequently influenced the nomination of Ma-
giſtrates and Prieſts. Cæſar learnt on his way, that

A.R. 702. Ant. C. 50. Anthony was appointed Augur. This pretence therefore failing, he ſubſtituted another; which was to take that opportunity to engage the votes of the people of theſe cantons for himſelf, with reſpect to the Conſulſhip; for which he intended to be a Candidate the following year. He even ſent to Rome many of his officers and ſoldiers, who had leave of abſence from him as it were to look after their private affairs.

Plut. Pomp. & Cæſ. And hiſtory mentions among others a Centurion, who being at the door of the Senate while they were deliberating about Cæſar, and informed that they refuſed him the time he demanded; put his hand to his ſword, ſaying, "This ſhall give him what the "Senate denies."

De B. Gall. l. viii. Cæſar was the more cautious, as the Conſuls elect were of the contrary party. Ser. Galba, who had ſerved under him as Lieutenant-general in Gaul, had made a fruitleſs effort; and Pompey's intereſt had fixed the ſuffrages of the People in favour of L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus, both enemies to Cæſar, but particularly the firſt; who kept no terms with him, and ſhewed himſelf determined to carry things to extremities. However, as Curio was a good check on every one, Cæſar thought he might return to Gaul. There he reviewed his army, and ſpent the remainder of the ſummer; and at the approach of winter, leaving in Gaul eight legions, (four in Belgium, and four in the country of the Ædui) he returned into Italy, where he diſtributed the thirteenth legion in all the important poſts of Ciſalpine Gaul.

When he came there, he was informed, that the legions that had been took from him under pretence of ſending them againſt the Parthians, had been detained in Italy, and tranſmitted to Pompey by the Conſul Marcellus. This was little leſs than a declaration of war. He diſſembled however his reſentment, and contented himſelf with writing to the Senate; deſiring that they would not deprive him of the benefit conferred on him by the People; or that the other Generals, as well as he, might be obliged to diſband their

Suet. Cæſ. c. 29.

their troops. This language, conformable to Curio's propoſal, could not prejudice Cæſar, as we have obſerved; and beſides Suetonius remarks, that he hoped, if he was took at his word, to be able to reaſſemble his veterans, before Pompey could make new levies. A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50.

It appears, that this letter from Cæſar gave occaſion to a laſt deliberation of the Senate on the reſpective pretenſions of the two rivals. Marcellus put the propoſition in a light that was advantageous to his views; and aſked the opinions concerning Pompey and Cæſar ſeparately. The majority were for ſending Cæſar a ſucceſſor; and, when the queſtion was put as to Pompey, the majority were for continuing him in Command. Appian.

But Curio, reuniting what the Conſul had ſeparated, inſiſted that the Senate ſhould be aſked, Whether it was their pleaſure that Pompey and Cæſar ſhould both at once reſign? The queſtion thus ſtated took another turn; and the Tribune had three hundred and ſeventy voices againſt twenty-two. This threw Marcellus into deſpair; who broke up the Aſſembly immediately, crying out aloud, "Ay, triumph over us, and make "Cæſar your Maſter." The Tribune, on the other ſide, retired full of glory; and was received by the People with great acclamations. They even threw flowers on him, as a victorious champion who deſerved garlands.

Marcellus, when he diſmiſſed the Senate, told them, that it was no longer time to amuſe themſelves with vain harangues, when ten legions were ready to paſs the Alpes; and that the Commonwealth wanted a protector able to reſiſt ſuch an attack. In conſequence of this declaration, being accompanied by the Conſuls elect (the better to authorize the important ſtep he was going to take) he went to Pompey, who was in the ſuburbs, becauſe, as Proconſul, he could not come into the city; and, giving him a ſword, ſaid, "We order you to uſe this ſword in the defence "of your Country againſt Cæſar: we inveſt you with

A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50.

"the Command of all the forces in Italy, and give "you power to raiſe what forces more you may think "proper." Pompey anſwered, he would obey the Conſuls; adding, however, "unleſs ſomething better "may be thought of." This was a common expreſſion with him, and was leſs a ſign of irreſolution, than of a ſly caution that loved to ſave appearances, that feared engagements, and always choſe to have a power of declining them, if neceſſary. There is no reaſon to doubt but that Pompey was on this occaſion fully determined; and he declared himſelf to this purpoſe to Cicero, who was then juſt returned from Cilicia, and with whom he had two conferences in the month of December that year.

Cic. ad Att. 7. 4. & 8.

Curio made ſome other attempts in Cæſar's favour, and endeavoured to hinder Pompey from raiſing forces. But he got nothing by theſe freſh efforts, and only incenſed the Senate more and more againſt him; and as his Tribuneſhip was near expired, and he thought his perſon would be in danger as ſoon as he was out of office; he fled from Rome, and went to Cæſar at Ravenna; full of animoſity, and importunate to have him immediately ſend for his legions and begin the war.

Cæſar, who was as determined as he, but more diſcreet, did not think it was yet time for action. He feared the odium of beginning a war, which to all the world could appear to have no other object than his perſonal intereſt. He waited for ſome event which might give a better colour to his hoſtilities againſt his Country; and choſe to be thought to have tried every means of accommodation before he had recourſe to force. He therefore negotiated on one hand; and, on the other, raiſed up againſt Pompey and the Senate a new Tribune, at leaſt as violent and paſſionate as Curio.

This Tribune was the famous Mark Anthony, who, at his return from Syria and Egypt, had embraced Cæſar's party. Being nominated Quæſtor, he ſet out immediately for Gaul; without ſtaying for the

Senate's

Senate's decree, the People's order, or the deciſion of the lots. * He knew, as Cicero has very juſtly obſerved, that Cæſar's camp was the only aſylum for thoſe, whom indigence, debauchery, and heavy debts, made diſcontented, and enemies of the public tranquillity. He behaved there gallantly; and we have had occaſion to mention him ſeveral times in relating the Gauliſh wars. Having this year obtained the Tribuneſhip by Cæſar's intereſt, and money, he employed all the authority of his office in the ſervice of him to whom he was obliged for it. A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50.

He began, by demanding that the two legions deſigned to be ſent againſt the Parthians ſhould be ordered to Bibulus in Syria; that Pompey ſhould be forbid raiſing any forces; and that ſuch as he inliſted ſhould be freed from military obedience. On the twenty-firſt of December, that is, twelve days after he entered on his office, he made an harangue to the People; in which he inſulted, and inveighed againſt, Pompey; reaping up his whole life, from his infancy. At the ſame time, he deplored the fate of thoſe who had been condemned in conſequence of the laws made by Pompey in his third Conſulſhip. To all this he added plain menaces of a civil war. On occaſion of which harangue Pompey, reaſoning with Cicero, ſaid very juſtly: † "What would not Cæſar "himſelf do, if he was at the head of affairs; ſince "his Quæſtor, who has neither money nor credit, "dares talk in this ſtrain?" Plut. Ant.

In the midſt of this ill-blood, negotiations (as I have ſaid) were ſet on foot. Cæſar offered to diſband eight of his legions, and to quit Tranſalpine Gaul, provided he was left in poſſeſſion of the other Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, until he was appointed Conſul. Afterwards, by the mediation of Cicero, who ardently deſired peace, Cæſar's friends made a further Plut. Cæſ. Appian. Cic. ad Fam. 16. 12.

* Id enim unum in terris egeſtatis, æris alieni, nequitiæ,——perfugium eſſe ducebas. Cic. Phil. II. n. 50.

† Quid cenſes facturum eſſe ipſum, ſi in poſſeſſionem Reipublicæ venerit; quum hæc Quæſtor ejus, infirmus & inops, audeat dicere?

A. R. 702. Ant. C. 50. conceſſion, and engaged he ſhould be ſatisfied with Illyricum and one legion.

Cic. ad At. 7. 9. But what method could be found to make two men agree, who both choſe a war? Cæſar's offers, by no means, evince a ſincere intention for peace. If he had really deſired it, there was a ſure way to have obtained it; which was to have reſigned his Command, on condition he was appointed Conſul. Cicero expreſsly declares, that, if he had inſiſted on nothing more, he could not have been poſſibly refuſed. But Cæſar would never reduce his pretenſions to theſe terms. Pompey on his ſide had as little inclination to leave Rome, and go to his province of Spain.

The diſpoſition then of Pompey and Cæſar to war was equal; with this difference, that Pompey, who had with him all the majeſty of the Republic, and doubted not of the goodneſs of his cauſe, pretended to give law, affected ſeverity, and avowed his reſolution to oblige Cæſar by force to ſubmit to the Senate: whereas Cæſar, taking advantage of the known intention of his rival, made continually conceſſions which he was ſure would be rejected; hoping by ſo doing to throw the blame on Pompey, and give to his own proceedings an air of moderation, which might in ſome ſort compenſate for their injuſtice.

A. R. 703. A. C. 49.

C. Claudius Marcellus.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Cæſ. de B. Civ. I. Dio. l. 41. Appian. Plut. On the firſt of January Curio came to Rome, with letters from Cæſar addreſſed to the Senate, which contained * very fair and moderate propoſals, in the opinion of him who made them, and which were probably agreeable to the conditions of the accommodation laſt mentioned. Theſe letters were ſo ill received, that the Conſuls, not being able to ſuppreſs them, as Curio had delivered them in full Senate, had a mind to return them unopened: and the Tribunes Anthony

* (Cæſar) expectabat leniſſimis ſuis poſtulatis reſponſa. Cæs. de B. Civ. I. 5.

and

and Q. Caſſius were forced to exert their whole au- A.R. 703. Ant. C. 49.
thority to procure them a reading. After they were read, the Conſul Lentulus propoſed to deliberate, not on their contents, but on the preſent ſtate of affairs, and on the meaſures proper to be taken for the ſecurity of the Republic. He exhorted the Senators to ſpeak their minds freely; telling them, that, if they cooled, he knew what he had to do; and doubted not but he could find means to make his peace with Cæſar.

He ſpoke the truth. Cæſar would have been well-pleaſed to have gained him over; and proſecuted ſo obſtinately his ſollicitations and offers, that afterwards, when war had been declared, and the armies were in ſight of one another in Epirus, Balbus ſtill negotiated by Cæſar's order with Lentulus, and went on that account into Pompey's camp at the hazard of his liberty and life. Lentulus was not averſe to liſtening to Cæ- Vell. II. 5.
ſar's promiſes. His ruined fortune, and heavy debts, were powerful incentives thereto. But he thought victory could not forſake Pompey; and that thoſe on his ſide had the more certain proſpect of riches and promotion. For this reaſon he was always untractable; and Cæſar names him as having contributed more than any one to the rupture. Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, neceſſarily followed his ſteps. Cato would not hear of compromiſing the intereſt and dignity of the Republic. Thus, notwithſtanding ſome cooler opinions, which tended at leaſt to temporizing, it paſſed by a majority of voices, "That Cæſar ſhould be ordered to diſband his army before a certain day then fixed; and that, in caſe of diſobedience, he ſhould be declared an enemy to the Republic."

Anthony and Q. Caſſius oppoſe this decree. Upon this the quarrel recommences. The Conſul propoſes to deliberate on the method to be taken to bring to reaſon the oppoſing Tribunes. The ſevereſt reſolutions paſs againſt them. The Tribunes intrench themſelves in the inviolable right of their office. At laſt

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. night parts the combatants. The conteſt was renewed the following days, and continued until the ſeventh of January. During this time Piſo the Cenſor, father-in-law to Cæſar, and L. Roſcius the Prætor, who had ſerved under Cæſar in Gaul, offered to go to him, and inform him of the Senate's diſpoſition. Their proffer was rejected; the Tribunes were extremely threatened; and the Senate had recourſe to that decree which was never uſed but in the greateſt extremities. It was therein ſaid, "that the Conſuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, and the Proconſuls that were near Rome (which took in Pompey and Cicero) were ordered to be careful of the ſafety of the Republic." After this, Anthony and Caſſius had every thing to fear. They therefore fled by night, diſguiſed as ſlaves, in an hired carriage; nor ſtopped until they got to Rhemi. Curio and Cælius followed them. The Governors of the provinces were then appointed, which had been hindered above a year by the oppoſition of the Tribunes. Cæſar had two ſucceſſors given him, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus for Tranſalpine Gaul, and M. Conſidius for the Ciſalpine. Metellus Scipio had the Government of Syria; which Bibulus quitted. Of the reſt I ſhall ſpeak, as occaſion offers.

Cæſar's enemies, by putting the Tribunes in danger, gave him the pretext he had long waited for. He was then at Ravenna, the laſt town in his province; and he was no ſooner informed of what had happened at Rome, but he aſſembled what ſoldiers he had about him, which were thoſe of the thirteenth legion. In the harangue he made them, he inſiſted on nothing ſo much as the violation of the Tribunitial privileges in the perſons of Anthony and Caſſius. He complained, as he himſelf relates, of the new precedent introduced into the Commonwealth by thoſe who checked and hindered by the terror of arms the oppoſition of the Tribunes. He added, that Sylla, who made it his buſineſs to humble, and had almoſt annihilated, the Tribuneſhip, had yet left it the liberty of

oppo-

oppoſition; but that Pompey, who valued himſelf for having reſtored to that office all its prerogatives, deprived it now of that privilege, which it had always enjoyed. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

It is, therefore, with great reaſon that Cicero makes Anthony reſponſible for all the calamities of the civil war. He ſays to be ſure too much, as Plutarch obſerves, when he accuſes * him of having been the cauſe of that unfortunate war, as much as Helen was of the Trojan. But it is ſtrictly true, that Anthony furniſhed Cæſar with the moſt plauſible pretext he could wiſh, and the moſt likely to impoſe on the People: a neceſſary pretext, without which perhaps Cæſar might have found it difficult to have come to extremities, or at leaſt to have ſecured the aſſiſtance of all his troops.

He certainly apprehended great difficulty in perſuading them to follow him; ſince as Suetonius relates, when he harangued them the next day at Rimini, he uſed the moſt ſubmiſſive intreaties, had recourſe to tears, tore his cloaths before, to ſhew his great concern, and the extreme danger he was expoſed to. Cæſar ſays nothing like this in his relation of what paſſed at Ravenna, and entirely omits his harangue at Rimini. But it is certain that he ſuppreſſes many things; and the paſſage of the Rubicon, ſo famous with all other hiſtorians, is not mentioned in his Commentaries. Suet. Cæſ. c. 32.

When he had done ſpeaking to the legion aſſembled by his orders at Ravenna, the officers and ſoldiers cried out, that they were determined to maintain the honour of their General, and to revenge the wrongs done to the Tribunes. He accepted their offers; and, with five thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, undertook (according to an expreſſion of Livy, which Oroſius has preſerved) to attack the Univerſe. His maxim and conſtant practice, as we know, was to

* Ut Helena Trojanis, ſic iſte huic reipublicæ, cauſa belli; cauſa peſtis, atque exitii, fuit. Cic. Phil. II. n. 55.

place

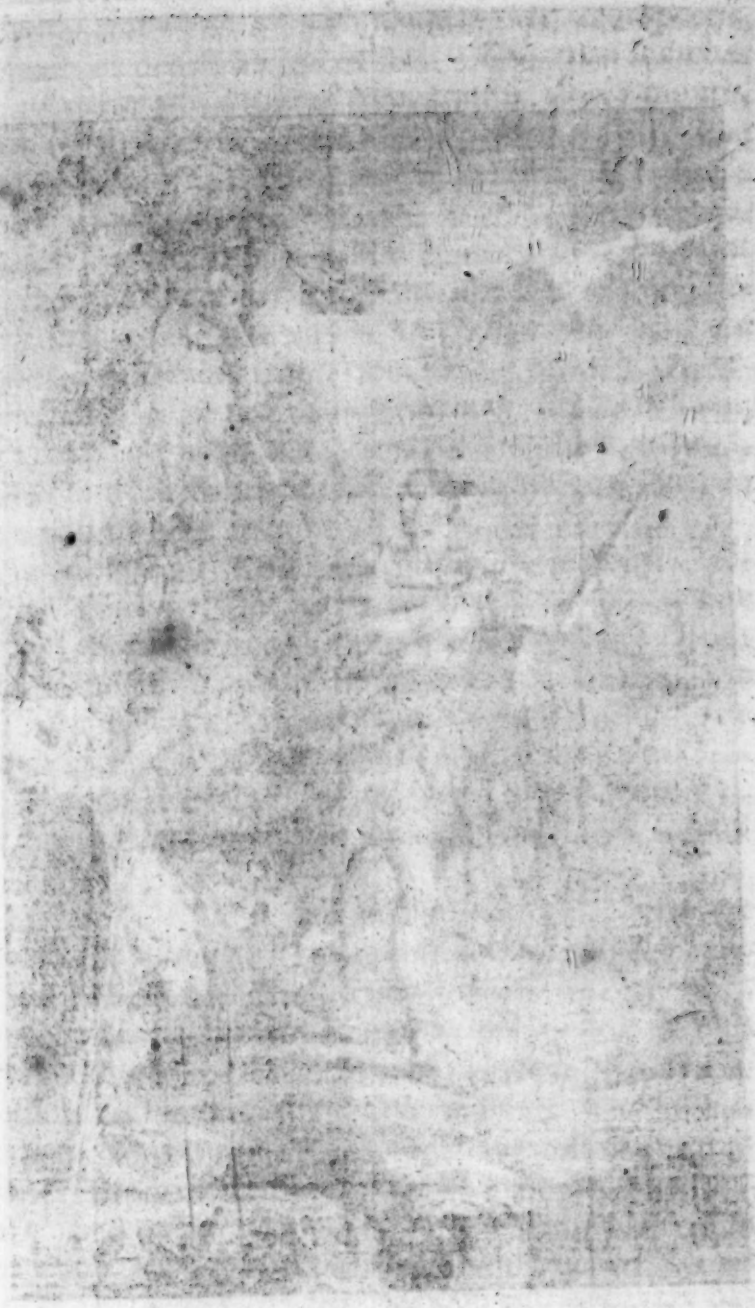
A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. place his chief hopes of ſucceſs in expedition; and he was convinced, that, on this occaſion, it would be eaſier for him to intimidate with a ſmall force, by appearing when he was leaſt expected; than to conquer, by ſtaying the time neceſſary for great preparations. Contenting himſelf therefore with writing to his Lieutenant-generals in Gaul to bring up the legions left there, he determined to commence the war by the ſurprize of Rimini, which was the firſt city of Italy in the way from his province. In order to ſucceed, ſecrecy was neceſſary. Wherefore he ſent away, without noiſe, his ten cohorts under the Command of Hortenſius's ſon. As for himſelf, he ſtaid in the town; went to a public ſpectacle; examined the plan of a gladiator's ſchool, which he intended to build; and in the evening ſat down to ſupper with much company. But, when night was come, he ſtole away on pretence of illneſs; went out of Ravenna, unperceived; and, getting mules to put in his chaiſe from the firſt mill, took a by-way in which he loſt himſelf. At day-break he procured a guide, by whoſe aſſiſtance he overtook his cohorts near the Rubicon, a rivulet that bounded his province; ſo that he could not paſs it without tranſgreſſing the laws, and taking off the maſk.

Determined, though he was, and without doubt the boldeſt of men; the idea of the evils he was going to bring on the world, and of the dangers to which he was going to expoſe himſelf, ſtruck him in that critical moment ſo forcibly, as to intimidate him in a manner, and for a while ſuſpend his activity. He ſtopped ſhort on the bank; and turning towards his friends, among whom was the famous Aſinius Pollio, ſaid to them: * "We may yet go back: but, "if we paſs over this little bridge, we put every "thing to the deciſion of arms."

Suetonius relates a pretended omen that happened at that inſtant. A man of extraordinary ſize and

* Etiam nunc regredi poſſumus: quod ſi ponticulum tranſierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt. SUET. Cæſ. 31.

ſhape





JULIUS CÆSAR's Paſsage of the RUBICON.

Publiſhed Nov.r 29. 1748. by J. & P. Knapton.

ſhape appeared on a ſudden, ſitting in the neighbourhood, and playing on a rural flute. Not only the ſhepherds, but ſome of the ſoldiers and trumpeters, got about him to hear his muſic. This man ſnatches the trumpet from one near him, puts it to his mouth, ſounds a charge, and paſſes to the other ſide of the river. If the fact is true, it was perhaps of Cæſar's own contrivance, in order to hearten his troops. However that be, he immediately cried out, * "Let "us go where the Gods, and the injuſtice of our ene- "mies call us. The die is caſt." It was thus he made that deciſive, dangerous, ſtep; ſtifling all reflections of its terrible conſequences; † like a man, ſays Plutarch, who ſhuts his eyes, and muffles his head, to avoid ſeeing the abyſs, into which he is going to precipitate himſelf. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Cæſar, having paſſed the Rubicon, marched directly to Rimini, and made himſelf maſter of it. There he found the two Tribunes, Anthony and Caſſius; and he took care to ſhew them to his ſoldiers in the ſervile habit they had been obliged to put on for their ſecurity. This ſight extremely exaſperated the ſoldiery, who made freſh proteſtations to their General, that they would follow him wherever he ſhould lead them.

What Cæſar foreſaw fell out. When the ſurprize of Rimini was known at Rome, it threw the whole city into the greateſt conſternation. This was not proportioned to the reality of the evil, which indeed was conſiderable. They expected every minute to ſee Cæſar at the gates of Rome, with his ten legions, and crouds of Gauls and Germans. Pompey himſelf loſt his preſence of mind. He had more troops about him than his rival. But he was ſo harraſſed and teazed by the reproaches of every body, that he could not preſerve the tranquillity neceſſary on extraordinary oc-

* Eatur, quo deorum oſtenta, & inimicorum iniquitas, vocat; jacta eſt alea.

† Ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸς βυθὸν ἀφιέντες ἀχάτις ἀπὸ κρημνῶν τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς, μύσαντες τὸ λογισμὸν, ἢ παραλυφάμενοι πρὸς τὸ φοβερόν. PLUT. Pomp.

caſions,

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. caſions, nor come to a reſolution worthy of his courage and prudence. Every one complained of his conduct: that he ſhould raiſe Cæſar to ſuch a height of power as made him formidable to his Country; and that, when he knew he was in no condition to make head againſt him, he ſhould reject all means of accommodation. They demanded of him where the forces were that he ought to have aſſembled. For, as they thought Cæſar had with him his ten legions, they would have been glad that Pompey had at leaſt as many; and, as he had nothing like ſuch a force, Favonius (alluding inſultingly to the ſpeech that eſcaped him ſome time before) adviſed him to ſtamp on the ground and raiſe ſoldiers.

Pompey was, without doubt, much to blame on this account. He had told the Senate, that he had ten legions in readineſs; but, when they were wanted, nothing appeared any wiſe proportionable to his promiſe: ſo that being interrogated on this head by Volcatius Tullus, a Conſular perſon, he anſwered in confuſion, that he had the two legions that came from Gaul; and alſo about thirty thouſand new levies, which only wanted marſhalling. Upon which Tullus cried out, "You have deceived us, Pompey;" and propoſed ſending Deputies to Cæſar.

Plut. Pomp. & Cato. Cato himſelf contributed to chagrin Pompey by an unſeaſonable reflection. For, when every body admired with what penetration and ſagacity, that generous, and knowing, Republican had long foretold, what they at laſt ſaw fulfilled: "Yes indeed, ſays he, "if you had believed me, you would not be now re-"duced, either to fear one man; or to put all your "hopes in one man." Cato indeed had always preached the neceſſity of guarding againſt Cæſar. And in particular, on occaſion of a letter wrote by Cæſar to the Senate full of invectives againſt him; after it had been read, Cato ſpoke; and, having eaſily refuted a frivolous, ill-ſupported, accuſation, he recriminated on Cæſar, and unfolded all his projects and his whole ſcheme with as much exactneſs as if he had been his confi-

confident and accomplice, not his enemy; concluding, that it was not the Germans, nor the Celtæ, but Cæſar, that they ought to fear, and guard againſt. It was this reiterated advice that Cato now blamed Pompey for not having attended to. "You have judged "better than me, ſays Pompey to him, concerning fu- "turity: and I have followed too much the impulſe of "friendſhip." However, whatever averſion Cato had to all authority and command that was contrary to law; he did not, on this occaſion, ſhew an ill-timed inflexibility, but adviſed the inveſting Pompey with the whole power of the State; ſaying, that ſuch as did great miſchief could beſt remedy it. His advice was followed; and a decree paſſed, importing, that there was a "Tumult;" that is, that a civil war was broke out; and that the city was in danger; and therefore, it was neceſſary that all the citizens ſhould take up arms. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

The firſt uſe Pompey made of the ſupreme authority which had been conferred on him, or rather confirmed to him, was to abandon Rome; and to order all the Senators to leave it, and follow him, with expreſs declaration, that he ſhould conſider thoſe who ſtaid behind as Cæſar's partizans. This looked like a deſperate reſolution. He endeavoured in vain to juſtify it by the example of Themiſtocles, who did the ſame at Athens on the approach of the Perſian army. In vain he laboured to eſtabliſh the maxim, that certain walls and houſes do not conſtitute one's Country. —Theſe reaſons would not paſs. However, at the ſame time they condemned the conduct of their General, they loved his perſon: and that day may be even conſidered as one of the moſt glorious of Pompey's life; ſince all the illuſtrious perſons at Rome went out of it with him. Flight, and exile, in Pompey's company was to them their Country; and Rome without him, Cæſar's Camp. I ſhall not deſcribe here the tumult and diſorder of this flight, as it is eaſily conceived. I ſhall take notice only of this ſingular circumſtance, that, while thoſe who were in Rome fled Cic. ad Att. 7. 2.

from

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. from thence with precipitation, the inhabitants of all the neighbouring cities haſted thither with equal earneſtneſs, to get out of the way of Cæſar: and in all that part of Italy the roads were filled with an infinite number of men and women, who impeded, and ran againſt one another, by a ſort of flux and reflux.

The Conſuls went out of Rome, even before they had performed the ſacrifices and ceremonies of religion, which the duty of their office required; a thing that had never happened before. The Prætors, the Tribunes of the People (at leaſt the major part of them) the Conſular perſons, in a word, almoſt all the Senators, followed Pompey with ſuch unanimity, that ſome of Cæſar's partizans were carried away by the torrent: even Piſo, his father-in-law, went out of Rome with the reſt.

Cæl. ad Cic. l. 8. Ad Fam. ep. 14. Suet. Cæſ. c. 27.

Thus all the majeſty of the Republic was with Pompey, but all its ſtrength was with Cæſar. I ſpeak not merely of his legions. He had long been the patron of all who were guilty of crimes, or deeply in debt, and of all the debauched part of the youth. He aſſiſted thoſe with his protection and money, whoſe affairs were not irrecoverable. He frankly told others, whoſe wants and crimes were irremediable, that they wanted a civil war. By theſe means he had ſecured a vaſt number of creatures; all men fit for action, bold, and who depended abſolutely on him. It is eaſy to conceive what ſtrength and ſupport a party may have from ſuch a collection. * "Cæſar's cauſe, ſays Cicero, has no aſſiſtance from juſtice; every other aſſiſtance and advantage it has."

† Among ſo many Romans, ſome partizans of Cæſar, ſome of Pompey, it is difficult to find any

* Cauſam ſolum illa cauſa non habet: ceteris rebus abundat. Cic. ad Att. vii. 3.

† Quum alii ad Cæſarem inclinarent, alii ad Pompeium; ſolus Cato fecit aliquas & Reipublicæ partes. Si animo complecti volueris illius imaginem temporis; videbis illinc plebem, & omnem erectum ad res novas vulgum; hinc optimates, & equeſtrem ordinem, quidquid erat in civitate lecti & ſancti; duos in medio relictos, Rempublicam & Catonem. Sen. ep. 104.

parti-

partizans of the Republic: and perhaps ſhe had no other than Cato. I borrow this reflection from Seneca, who proves it ſufficiently. "If you would, ſays he, have a faithful repreſentation of thoſe times; you will ſee on one ſide the People, and all thoſe the bad ſtate of whoſe affairs made a change of government neceſſary; on the other, the Nobles, the Equeſtrian order, all that was illuſtrious and reſpectable in Rome; in the midſt, Cato and the Republic, alone and abandoned of all." For Cato was not in fact much more ſatisfied with Pompey than with Cæſar; ſince, if he had determined to kill himſelf, ſhould the laſt be the conqueror; he had alſo reſolved to go into exile, if the firſt was victorious. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 48.

This diſcovers another defect in the famous verſe of Lucan, cenſured beſides with reaſon for its impiety in putting in paralleliſm the approbation of the Gods, and that of a man. † "The Gods, ſays he, approved of the Victor; but Cato of the Vanquiſhed." Cato was far from approving of the Vanquiſhed; only, reduced to ſo wretched an alternative, he thought him the better of the two. For the reſt, every thing afflicted and diſtreſſed him. His very exterior was declarative of his grief. For, from the day the war began to his death, he neither cut his hair nor beard; nor ever wore a garland, as was cuſtomary at their entertainments; in a word, he carried on his perſon all the marks of deep mourning and extreme affliction. Plut. Cat.

I ſhall not relate the pretended prodigies on the approach of this cruel war, with which the antient writers abound. I ſhall only obſerve, that the minds of people being terrified, and therefore more diſpoſed to ſuperſtition, found preſages even in the moſt common and natural events. Thus becauſe Perperna died at this time, at the age of ninety-eight, being the laſt of all thoſe who were Senators when he was Conſul, and leaving behind him only ſeven of thoſe Plin. 7. 48. Val. Max. 8, 13. Dio, l. 41.

† Victrix cauſa Deis placuit, ſed Victa Catoni.

whom

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. whom thirty-ſeven years before (being Cenſor with Philip) he had put on the liſt of Senators; they fancied that his death, ſo circumſtanced, foretold the ruin of the Senate, and a change of government.

Pompey, when he left Rome, went towards Campania; deſigning to get into Apulia, where were the two legions he had fineſſed from Cæſar. He did not confide much in theſe legions, fearing they had ſome attachment left for their old General. His reſource, therefore, was to raiſe men all over Italy, and to endeavour to maintain himſelf there, if poſſible; or elſe, in caſe of neceſſity, to croſs the ſea, that he might get time enough to draw from the Eaſt a numerous, well-affected, army. For his reputation was great in thoſe parts, where he had performed many ſignal exploits. But he ſtudiouſly concealed the latter ſcheme, which would have diſcredited his arms, and ſeemed to have no other deſign than to defend Italy. Many ſubordinate Commanders were in poſſeſſion of its provinces, and enliſted every one they could get. Cicero preſided over the coaſt of Campania. But, deſirous as he was of peace, he did not enter warmly into military operations. His intention was, to mediate between the two parties, as long as there remained any hopes of an accommodation. Lentulus Spinther, P. Attius Varus, Domitius Ahenobarbus, and ſome others, ſerved their party with more ſpirit; but not with more ſucceſs, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate.

While Cæſar was yet at Rimini, a young Gentleman of the ſame family and name, and the Prætor Roſcius, came to him with offers of peace. Though they were not formally deputed, yet Pompey had ordered them to make his compliments, and even in ſome ſort excuſes, to Cæſar. He told them, "that he was not actuated by enmity to Cæſar; but purely by zeal for the Republic, whoſe intereſt he had ever preferred to any private engagement. That it was worthy of Cæſar to act conformably to this maxim; and not prejudice the Commonwealth, by puſhing too far his revenge

evenge againſt his private enemies." It is plain that Pompey, by taking this ſtep, had a mind to enter into a negotiation, not with an intention to make peace, but doubtleſs to get time; as he had been ſurprized, and found his levies were not ſo eaſily made as he imagined. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Cæſar, who was not more diſpoſed to peace, had a mind, however, to have the reputation of deſiring it. He gave to young L. Cæſar and Roſcius new propoſals, which he thus recounts himſelf: "Let Pompey go into Spain; let * all the armies be diſbanded; let every body throughout Italy lay down their arms; let every thing that participates of terror and force be removed; let the elections of Magiſtrates be made with perfect freedom; and let the Republic be adminiſtered by the authority of the Senate and People." And, in order to ſettle the particulars of the execution of theſe articles, he demanded an interview with Pompey.

Cicero further explains ſome of theſe articles. According to him, Cæſar promiſed to reſign Tranſalpine Gaul to Domitius, and Ciſalpine Gaul to Conſidius. He relinquiſhed the privilege he had obtained of demanding the Conſulſhip by proxy, and declared that he would come and ſtand for it in perſon, according to ſtrict form. Cic. ad Fam. 16. 12.

Theſe propoſals had an air of moderation, and Cicero entertained hopes of their ſucceſs. He thought Cæſar began to be aſhamed of his violent procedure; and he knew Pompey was diſſatisfied with the forces he had about him. But theſe hopes ſoon vaniſhed. Pompey inſiſted, as a preliminary, that Cæſar ſhould return to his obedience, and quit Rimini and the other poſts he had ſeized on out of his province. For, during the negotiation, he had by no means diſcontinued the war. Cæſar, on the other ſide, wanted Pompey and the Conſuls to ſet a good example, by

* Cæſar's text is "ipſi exercitus dimittantur;" which is plainly faulty. I read "cuncti," inſtead of "ipſi."

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. ſuſpending the levies they were making, and diſmiſſing the forces they had already aſſembled. Beſides, though Pompey promiſed to go into Spain, he fixed no time for his departure. And laſtly, as to the interview deſired by Cæſar, he declined giving any anſwer about it. Cæſar therefore thought he had a right to diſcontinue the negotiation. He diſperſed all over Italy a ſort of manifeſto, wherein he gave moſt ſpecious reaſons for his conduct, and even challenged Pompey, as one who broke his word, and was afraid of an eclairciſſement. It is doubtleſs, in this piece, that (with his uſual addreſs and care to make friends) he declared, that he ſhould conſider all thoſe as his friends, who did not act againſt him. This policy was the better judged, as Pompey talked in the oppoſite ſtile, and proteſted, that he would treat as enemies all thoſe who were wanting to the cauſe of the Republic, whoſe defender he was.

Dio.

Suet. Cæſ. c. 75.

Cic. ad Att. 7. 9. Labienus had raiſed his ſpirits by coming over to his ſide, while the accommodation was on foot. He was, as we have ſeen, the moſt famous of Cæſar's Lieutenants, and him for whom that General had the greateſt eſteem, and moſt confided in. Pompey's party boaſted much of the juſtice of their cauſe, which had procured them ſuch a deſerter, and reckoned much on his ſkill. But he brought them ſcarce any thing beſides vain hopes, occaſioned by his undervaluing in his diſcourſe the forces of Cæſar. As for the reſt, he was of little real ſervice to them. * Labienus had ſeemed an excellent Officer, while he acted under Cæſar; from the time he left him, he performed nothing equal to the reputation he had acquired. Cæſar behaved to him with his wonted generoſity, and ſent after him his money and baggage.

Mean while, he carried on the war vigorouſly; and, though he had yet only the thirteenth legion with him, he made himſelf maſter of Peſaro, Fano,

* —— Fortis in armis
Cæſareis Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.
LUCAN. V. 345.

An-

Ancona, and Arezzo in Tuſcany. At the ſame time he raiſed forces all over Picenum, and ſcouted every where Pompey's partizans. I ſhall not enter into the particulars of his leſs important expeditions. I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that without drawing the ſword, he compelled Thermus, who was then Prætor, to give up to him Iguvium; Attius Varus, Oſimo; and Lentulus Spinther, Aſcoli. But he was obliged to lay ſiege to Corfinium; into which Domitius Ahenobarbus had thrown himſelf, with many illuſtrious perſons and a good number of troops. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Eugubio.

This was a good capture for Cæſar, and he was obliged for it to the raſhneſs of Domitius; who finding himſelf at the head of thirty cohorts, would needs act the man of importance. Pompey had wrote to him, to come and join him in Apulia; repreſenting, that they had no chance to diſpute Italy but by the junction of all their forces; and that, if he kept ſeparate, he would be infallibly ruined. This was good advice; but ſubordination and obedience are rare in civil wars. Domitius undertook to make head againſt Cæſar, and hinder his advancing. He had even thoughts of going into Gaul, the Government of which country had been given him by the Senate. But Cæſar allowed him no time. He marched againſt him; and, at the firſt rencounter, his advanced parties routed five of Domitius's cohorts, who were breaking down a bridge about three miles off Corfinium: after which he ſat down with two legions before a town, whoſe garriſon was more numerous than his army. It is true, that more of his troops ſoon came up; which enabled him to form a ſecond camp on the other ſide of the town, under the command of Curio.

When Domitius ſaw himſelf beſieged, he was very ſenſible of his danger. He wrote immediately to Pompey; deſiring him to come to his aſſiſtance, and not leave, to the mercy of Cæſar, thirty cohorts, and a great number of Senators and Roman Knights. While he waited for Pompey's anſwer, he made preparations

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. for a vigorous defence, and endeavoured to encourage his troops by magnificent promiſes.

This was a moſt untoward affair for Pompey. To abandon ſo great a body of troops, and ſo many perſons of diſtinction, would be a great loſs and diſcredit to his party. On the other ſide, his army was weak; except the two legions we have mentioned ſeveral times, and on whoſe fidelity he could not depend, he had nothing but new-raiſed troops about him. To riſque an engagement with ſuch, againſt Cæſar's veterans, was to expoſe himſelf to immediate and irretrievable ruin. He came therefore to a reſolution becoming a man of ſenſe and ſkill; and though he knew his conduct was condemned as timid, as appears by Cicero's letters (who I think in that has done him juſtice) he anſwered Domitius, that it was his buſineſs to extricate himſelf as well as he could out of the difficulties he had brought on himſelf, and that he ought to endeavour at all events to join him.

Domitius, incloſed in Cæſar's lines, was no longer able to execute what Pompey adviſed. His courage and haughtineſs immediately left him, and he determined to ſave himſelf by flight. He put, however, as good a face on the matter as he could, and promiſed his troops ſpeedy aſſiſtance from Pompey; exhorting them to make a vigorous defence, and hold out until he could come up. But his trouble and confuſion belied his words; beſides, he was obſerved to hold frequently little councils of his friends and intimates; ſo that the truth tranſpired, and the troops learnt that they were not to expect any ſuccour, and that their Commander was about to leave them and make off. Upon which they reſolved to conſult alſo their ſafety, and ſend a deputation to Cæſar. The burgeſſes at firſt oppoſed this, not knowing the true ſtate of affairs; but in a ſhort time they came to a good underſtanding with the garriſon, and jointly ſecured the perſon of Domitius; ſending word to Cæſar, that they were ready to open their gates, receive his orders,

orders, and deliver up Domitius alive. Cæſar gladly accepted of the offer; but, as it was near night, he would not take poſſeſſion of the town immediately, leſt it ſhould be plundered in the dark by his ſoldiers. He therefore ordered his troops to keep a ſtrict watch round the city, and prevent a ſingle perſon from eſcaping. Cæſar obſerves, that this was performed with the utmoſt care and vigilance; and that his whole camp was in great expectation of his determination as to the fate of the burgeſſes, and illuſtrious perſons ſhut up in the town. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Lentulus Spinther was one of theſe; who, having been drove out of Aſculi, as I have mentioned, had ſought ſhelter in Corfinium. More unfortunate in this place than in the firſt, he reſolved to eſſay the clemency of the Victor. Accordingly, about the fourth watch of the night, he called from the wall to the guard, and deſired to be conducted to Cæſar. He was carried to him under a good eſcort, not of Cæſar's ſoldiers, but of thoſe of Domitius; who were ſo fearful of the reproach of having broke their agreement, that they attended him until delivered into Cæſar's hands. Lentulus was not miſtaken in the opinion he had entertained of his enemy's generoſity. He had ſcarce began to implore his mercy, when Cæſar interrupted him by ſaying, "that he was not come out of the bounds of his province with an intent to injure any body; but to repel the injuries done him by his enemies, to revenge the wrongs of the Tribunes, and to reſtore to the Roman People, who were oppreſſed by a ſmall faction of the Nobles, their liberty and privileges." When Lentulus found himſelf out of danger, he aſked leave to return into the town, "where ſome, he ſaid, were ſo terrified, that they had took deſperate reſolutions." He meant Domitius, whoſe adventure is very ſingular.

We have ſeen Domitius acting for ſeveral years as a declared enemy to Cæſar. He had laboured to his utmoſt to get him recalled, and had lately obtained his Government from the Senate. Meaſuring there-

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. fore Cæſar's hatred for him by his own for Cæſar, when he found he ſhould fall into his hands, he expected no quarter; and, bold through deſperation, determined to kill himſelf, that he might not be killed by his enemy. He accordingly ordered his Phyſician, who was one of his ſlaves, to give him a doſe of poiſon, which he drank courageouſly, and threw himſelf on a bed. Some hours after, Lentulus arrives, and gives him an account of Cæſar's clemency. Domitius now deplores his deſperate ſituation, and accuſes himſelf of blindneſs and precipitation. His Phyſician comforts him: "Be of good cheer," ſays he, "I "have given you a ſoporific, and no poiſon: it will "do you no manner of hurt." Domitius, upon this, takes heart, and waits patiently for the time of his appearance before Cæſar.

At day-break Cæſar ordered before him all the Senators, Senators ſons, military Tribunes, and Roman Knights. Beſides Lentulus and Domitius, who were Conſular perſons, there were in the town three other Senators, one of whom was then Quæſtor; alſo Domitius's ſon, and many young men of quality; a great number of Roman Knights, and ſome Decurions, or Senators of the neighbouring municipal towns, who had been ſent for by Domitius. Cæſar gave orders to ſecure them from the inſults of the ſoldiery; and, after reproaching them with their animoſity to him, which he pretended he had not deſerved, he ſet them all at liberty, without ſo much as requiring any ſort of promiſe from them. He did more. Domitius had brought to Corfinium * ſix millions of Seſterces, which had been given him by Pompey, to pay his forces with. This therefore was public money; and Cæſar might very well have took it. He returned it however to Domitius; † being willing, as he himſelf ſays, to ſhew himſelf generous,

* Forty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, ſterling.

† Ne continentior in vita hominum, quam in pecunia fuiſſe videatur. Cæſ. de B. Civ. l. I, n. 23.

as

as well as merciful. As to Domitius's troops, he took them into pay, and, ſoon after, ſent them into Sicily. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Such was the plan of conduct, that Cæſar preſcribed himſelf, on this firſt occaſion, and which he pretty nearly adhered to, on every other: a conduct laudable on all accounts; on account of his clemency to the Commanders, ſo unuſual in civil wars; on account of the great advantage it gave him of augmenting his forces, after every victory, by gaining to his party the vanquiſhed ſoldiers; and on account of the honour that his generoſity conferred on his arms and cauſe, whoſe injuſtice it, to this day, covers, in the eyes of many.

Cæſar rejoices himſelf on this account, in a letter to Balbus and Oppius, two of his friends; but he diſcovers, at the ſame time, the intereſted, ambitious, motive of his clemency. " * I am glad, ſays he, that you approve of my behaviour at Corfinium.—— Let us endeavour to regain, if poſſible, by ſuch means, the affection of every body; and procure a long enjoyment of the fruits of victory. For the others, by their cruelty, made themſelves odious, and reaped little benefit from their conqueſt; Sylla excepted, whom I am reſolved not to imitate. Let us ſet the example of a new method of conquering, and inſure our fortune by clemency and generoſity." This letter manifeſts Cæſar's ſettled determination at that time to ſeize on the Sovereignty, and keep poſſeſſion of it: from whence it follows, that all his negotiations about peace were inſincere, or only aimed at bringing Pompey to ſubmit to him, with the reſt of his countrymen; which was ſcarce to be expected.

* Gaudeo mehercule vos ſignificare literis, quam valde probetis ea quæ apud Corfinium geſta ſunt . . . Tentemus hoc modo, ſi poſſumus, omnium voluntates recuperare, & diuturna victoria uti: quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam, quem imitaturus non ſum. Hæc nova ſit ratio vincendi, ut miſericordia & liberalitate nos muniamus. Ep. Cæs. apud Cic. ad Att. l. ix.

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 49. Cic. ad Att. l. ix.

Domitius and Lentulus, when they left Cæſar's camp, went to hide their diſgrace in their country-houſes; where they ſhut themſelves up ſome time, giving way to their melancholy reflections. Lentulus even ſaid, that he had done enough for Pompey; and that he thought himſelf obliged to give proofs of his gratitude to Cæſar. However, we ſhall ſoon ſee them both re-appear on Pompey's ſide, and diſtinguiſh themſelves by their inveteracy againſt him to whom they owed their lives. It would not be ſurprizing to find Cæſar inclined to puniſh ſuch ingratitude: But his haughty, generous ſoul was above ſuch thoughts; he explains himſelf, on this ſubject, in the nobleſt manner, in a letter to Cicero. * "It is no reaſon, ſays he, that I ſhould repent of my clemency, becauſe I am informed, that thoſe I ſet at liberty at Corfinium are gone to war againſt me again. I am rather pleaſed to find them all of a piece, as it becomes me alſo to be."

Cæſar was detained but ſeven days before Corfinium; and, as ſoon as he had brought that important affair to a concluſion, he decamped; and, tho' the morning was far advanced, he made a whole day's march. He went in purſuit of Pompey, who had no other reſource but to retire into Brundiſium. Though he was much nearer that town than his enemy, yet Cicero was afraid that Cæſar would get there firſt. † "This man, ſays he, in a fright, is a monſter, for activity, vigilance, and diſpatch." Pompey, however, had time to throw himſelf into Brundiſium with what forces he had been able to ſave and aſſemble. Theſe were not conſiderable, though he had not refuſed any ſort of ſuccours; and had even armed, if we may believe Cæſar, the ſhepherds and ſlaves. Cæſar came before the town on the eighth of

* Meum factum probari à te triumpho gaudeo. Neque illud me movet, quod ii qui à me dimiſſi ſunt diſceſſiſſe dicuntur, ut mihi rurſus bellum inferrent. Nihil enim malo, quam & me mei ſimilem eſſe, & illos ſui. Ep. Cæs. ad Cic. l. ix. ad Att.

† Hoc τερας horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia eſt. Cic. ad Att. viii. 9.

March,

March, with ſix legions; four of which were old troops, and two new-raiſed. It was no ſmall work, ſurely, to have maſtered all Italy, one city excepted, ſince the eighth or ninth of January. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

On his march, he made priſoner Cn. Magius, Pompey's † chief Engineer; and, according to cuſtom, immediately gave him his liberty, and ſent him to his General; charging him to aſk and preſs for an interview, as a ſure means to ſettle every thing. He ſays, in his Commentaries, that Magius brought him back no anſwer from Pompey. But we have a letter from Cæſar to Oppius and Balbus, which proves the contrary. "Pompey, ſays he, has ſent Magius to me, with overtures of peace; and I have anſwered him what I thought proper." It is difficult to reconcile theſe contradictions but by ſuppoſing that Cæſar has not been ſcrupulouſly faithful, as to facts, in his Commentaries, particularly in what regards the civil war. Aſinius Pollio, who accompanied him in ſeveral expeditions, expreſsly accuſed him of it, as Suetonius relates. So that this great man, this generous, elevated ſoul, diſdained not to diſhonour himſelf by falſhood, and to ſuppreſs the truth, in a work deſtined for poſterity: ſuch are the fruits of ambition! Ep Cæſ. apud Cic. ad Att. l. ix. Suet. Cæſ. c. 56.

Pompey had no ſooner got into Brundiſium, but he diſpatched from thence Metellus Scipio to his Government of Syria, and, with him, his eldeſt ſon, Cn. Pompeius; ordering them both to aſſemble, from all parts of the Eaſt, powerful forces, by land and ſea. He perſuaded alſo the Conſuls to go over to Dyrrachium, in Epirus, with thirty cohorts; and prepared to follow them. He was ſuſpicious of them both, but particularly of Lentulus, whom Cæſar, by Balbus, continually ſollicited; making him the greateſt promiſes, if he would return to Rome. The departure of the Conſuls broke Cæſar's meaſures, in this reſpect, and Caninius Rebilus, one of his Lieutenants, Durazzo. Dio. Balbus ad Cic. l. 8. ad Att.

† I venture to tranſlate thus, "Præfectus fabrum," which literally ſignifies "Commander of the workmen" who follow an army. D'Ablancourt calls him, "Intendant des machines."

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. being ordered by him to enter into a negotiation with Scribonius Libo, father-in-law to Sextus, Pompey's youngeſt ſon, was anſwered, That it was impoſſible to treat with him, in the abſence of the Conſuls.

Cæſar therefore thought of nothing now but ſhutting up Pompey in Brundiſium; and, while he beſieged the town by land, he endeavoured to conſtruct a mole and ſtaccado to block up the port. They fought vigorouſly on both ſides about theſe works for nine days; when, the veſſels that had tranſported the Conſuls being returned before Cæſar's works were compleated, Pompey got every thing ready for the embarkation of the twenty cohorts he had with him.

But, fearing that Cæſar would enter the town, and attack him, while he was embarking, he walled up the gates, barricaded the ſtreets, or cut ditches acroſs them, filled with pointed ſtakes, covered with hurdles and earth; and fortified, with a double palliſado of very ſtrong, well-ſharpened ſtakes, the two ſtreets left open to get at the port. When all was in readineſs, while the ſoldiers embarked, he placed on the walls and towers ſome archers and ſlingers, who were to retire, at a certain ſignal, to embark on ſome ſmall veſſels that waited for them, and join the fleet.

He had forbad the inhabitants of Brundiſium, whom he miſtruſted, to ſtir out of their houſes. They found means, however, to advertiſe Cæſar of Pompey's departure. Immediately the ſcaling-ladders are applied to the walls, and Cæſar enters the town. His ſoldiers had like to have fallen into the ſnares and ditches provided for them by the enemy. But the townſmen acquainted them with their danger; to avoid which, they were obliged to take a great circuit, which gave Pompey time enough to put to ſea. Two tranſports only, impeded by Cæſar's mole, were taken, with the troops on board.

Thus fled Pompey from that port, where he landed a few years before, with ſo much glory, at the head of a victorious army, laden with the ſpoils of the Eaſt. He ſet out by abandoning to his rival the capital

pital of the Empire; he now abandoned to him all Italy: a timid conduct, had it been poſſible to have done otherwiſe; but a prudent one, if there was no other way to get time to ſtrengthen his hands. Plutarch affirms, that many thought the ſcheme he formed at this conjuncture, and the manner in which he executed it, one of his moſt glorious military exploits: and, whoever conſiders what advantage and ſuperiority Cæſar had then over him, will eaſily (I imagine) come into the ſame opinion. No one, probably, would have diſſented, had Pompey been victorious at Pharſalia. A. R. 703, Ant. C. 49.

His fault was, his not being prepared againſt the attack, and his having put his enemy on deſperate terms, before he could make head againſt him. True it is, that Cæſar's ſituation was much more convenient than his, for commencing the war. Cæſar's province was contiguous to Italy; it was but a little way from the Rubicon to Rome; whereas the legions Pompey had in Spain could not get at him, but by croſſing the ſouthern part of Gaul, of which Cæſar was in poſſeſſion. Whence it happened, that Pompey made no other uſe of the excellent troops under his Command, than to get time to raiſe others.

Cæſar would willingly have followed Pompey into Greece, and taken advantage of his confuſion and weakneſs, to finiſh the war at a blow. But he had no ſhips; and was alſo apprehenſive, that, while he was beyond ſea, Afranius and Petreius, Pompey's Lieutenants in Spain, might fall on Gaul, and, perhaps, on Italy itſelf, with their five legions. He determined therefore to begin by ſecuring them; and * to go firſt into Spain, as he ſays, to fight an army, without a General; and afterwards to go againſt a General, without an army. But firſt he took the neceſſary precautions to ſecure, during his abſence, the coaſts and environs of Italy. He ordered the Ma-

* Ire ſe ad exercitum ſine duce, & inde reverſurum ad ducem ſine exercitu. SUET. Cæſ. c. 34.

giſtrates

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. giſtrates of thoſe municipal towns that were ſea-ports, to aſſemble all the veſſels they could, and ſend them to Brundiſium. He ſent Valerius, one of his Lieutenants, into Sardinia, and Curio into Sicily, to ſubdue theſe two iſlands, from whence Rome drew her chief ſubſiſtence. Curio had alſo orders to paſs over into Africa, when he had maſtered Sicily. As for himſelf, he thought it neceſſary to appear at Rome.

Valerius had but one legion; but that was more than he wanted, to execute his commiſſion. On the firſt rumour of his approach, the inhabitants of Cagliari drove out of their city Cotta, who governed the iſland for the Senate and Pompey. All the other cities of Sardinia were of the ſame mind: So that Cotta was forced to abandon his province, and retire into Africa; and Valerius had nothing to do, but to take poſſeſſion of the vacant poſt.

Plut. Cat. Appian. Dio. Cato was Governor of Sicily, and acted with his uſual vigilance and diligence. He refitted the old ſhips; he built new; he raiſed forces, not only all over his iſland, but alſo in Lucania, and the country of the Bruttii. When all theſe preparations were in great forwardneſs, he was informed that Aſinius Pollio was come to Meſſina. He had been ſent there by Curio, who was haſtening to follow him, with three legions. Cato, who was at Syracuſe, diſpatched an expreſs to Pollio, to demand by whoſe order, and by what title, he entered in arms into his province. Pollio returned for anſwer, that he did it by the order of him who was Maſter of Italy. This was the beſt account he could give. For nothing could be more irregular than a commiſſion granted by a Proconſul of Gaul, to diſpoſſeſs him, whom the Senate had appointed Governor of Sicily. Pollio alſo informed Cato's meſſenger of what had paſſed in Italy, with reſpect to Pompey's flight; and added, that Curio was to follow him. Cato, who abhorred civil wars; and who, beſides, though he knew he was ſtrong enough to drive Pollio out of Sicily, did not think himſelf in a condition to make head againſt Curio;

aſſem-

aſſembled the inhabitants of Syracuſe, and told them, that, as being unable to defend the iſland, he would not make it the theatre of war to no purpoſe; that he had therefore reſolved to retire; and that the beſt thing they could do was to ſubmit to the Conqueror. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

This manner of thinking and acting was undoubtedly very humane and laudable. I wiſh Cato had not thereto joined ſome diſreſpectful complaints againſt Providence; which, he ſaid, had given Pompey ſucceſs in a thouſand unjuſt projects; and now, that he defended a juſt cauſe and the public liberty, deſerted him. But triumphant injuſtice, and unfortunate virtue, are inconſiſtencies which nothing but the revelation of future rewards and puniſhments can reconcile.

If we believe Cæſar, Cato reproached Pompey alſo with having provoked a war he was in no condition to ſuſtain. Theſe reflections might as well have been omitted: But is the fact certain? Cæſar hated Cato; and was, perhaps, glad to put him in a ridiculous light. Cato went from Sicily into the iſland of Corcyra, and from thence into Pompey's camp.

Cæſar, in his return from Brundiſium to Rome, ſaw Cicero; who being, according to cuſtom, irreſolute, through ſeeing too much, had not yet choſe his party. It is really curious to follow, and ſtudy, the flux and reflux of the contrary ſentiments, which, by turns, agitated this great and ſublime genius, without other effect than tormenting him; and without his being able to come to a final concluſion. To lay before the reader all that is intereſting in this matter, it would be neceſſary to tranſcribe three books of his letters to Atticus. But I ſhall confine myſelf to what is moſt important. Cic. ad Att. vii. 9.

He left his Government of Cilicia, as I have already obſerved, exactly at the time that the difference between Cæſar and Pompey waxed warm, and threatened an approaching rupture. He was immediately ſtruck, not only with the unhappy conſequences of ſuch a diviſion, with reſpect to the Republic in general,

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. ral, but alſo with the perſonal difficulties it would lay him under, in particular. He thought he had been very polite in keeping on good terms with both of them. This was, to him, reconciling his duty and intereſt. Their authority ſufficiently ſecured him from all danger; and he was not afraid of being drawn into any bad meaſures, either by Pompey, who conformed then to the beſt maxims; or by Cæſar, who was then in friendſhip with Pompey.

Nothing could have been better contrived, if the friendſhip of two ambitious men could have been laſting. Cicero was deceived in that particular; and he ſaw the time was come, when he was to declare for one, againſt the other. They had both wrote to him; and they both told him, that they relied on his friendſhip; though Cæſar, at the bottom, miſtruſted him a little. This threw Cicero into great perplexity. His choice was fixed, if they came to blows. * "In that caſe, ſays he to Atticus, I had rather be conquered with Pompey, than be victorious with Cæſar." But things were not yet come to that. It was, at firſt, only a diſpute within the Senate, or, at leaſt, within Rome. An accommodation was poſſible; and Cicero was unwilling to make Cæſar his enemy, while he could avoid it, by a premature declaration. It would have been even indecent, in him, for a private reaſon: For he was actually in Cæſar's debt. But he reſolved to free himſelf from that tye, by paying him, and applying to that uſe the money he had ſet apart for his triumph.

Cic. ad Att. vii. 3 & 8.

For he had pretenſions to a triumph, as I have elſewhere ſaid; and thoſe very pretenſions offered him ſome relief in his perplexity; which he did not neglect. It was natural for him to covet that honour, the object of the wiſhes of all thoſe who had commanded an army. And, as the proſecution of his claim obliged him to keep out of Rome, he had a

* Si caſtris res geretur, video cum altero vinci ſatius eſſe, quam cum altero vincere. Cic. ad Att. vii. 1.

lawful excuſe for not appearing in the Senate. Pompey himſelf was willing he ſhould avoid diſpleaſing, by a needleſs declaration, ſome Tribune, who might oppoſe his triumph. So that all the Conteſts about Cæſar, between the Conſuls and Senate, on one ſide, and the Tribunes, Curio and Anthony, on the other, paſſed over without Cicero's being any-wiſe concerned therein. He thus reſerved to himſelf the part of peace-maker; a glorious part, ſuitable to his character, talents, and ſituation; and in which he had done well to have perſevered to the laſt. But his heart and engagements were for Pompey. Him he exhorted in private to peace; reſolved nevertheleſs to follow him, if he choſe war. A. R. 702. Ant. C. 49.

Not that he had a good opinion of Pompey's intentions. * "Victory, ſays he, will certainly give us a Tyrant. Neither the one, nor the other, aims at our good and advantage. They both want to reign. What an unhappy ſituation are we in, with reſpect to the war we are entering upon! We expect to be proſcribed, if we are conquered; and to be ſlaves, if we are victorious. Pompey has always wiſhed for ſuch a power as Sylla had. He does not ſo much as conceal it. He commonly ſays, What Sylla could do, why ſhould not I be able to do? His heart and tongue approve Sylla and his proſcriptions."

But if Cicero was diſſatisfied with Pompey, and apprehenſive of the conſequences of the victory; he deteſted Cæſar, and abhorred his cauſe. He thought his demands impudent, he conſidered him as a profligate robber, and, when Cæſar had commenced hoſtilities by taking Rimini and ſome other towns, Cicero thus expreſſes his indignation: "O wretched madman, cries he, who has not the leaſt notion of true

* Ex victoria tyrannus exiſtet. Neutri σχοπος eſt ille, ut nos beati ſimus: uterque regnare vult. Depugna,—ut quid? Si victus eris proſcribare; ſi viceris, tamen ſervias. Mirandum in modum Cnæus noſter Sullani regni ſimilitudinem concupivit, ειδως σοι λεγω. Nihil ille unquam minus obſcure tulit. Quam crebro illud? Sulla potuit, ego non potero? Sullaturit animus ejus & proſcripturit. Cic. ad Att. vii. 5, viii. 2. vii. 7. ix. 7. & 10.

glory!

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

glory! * And yet all that he does, he pretends to do in defence of his honour. Where then is honour but in the practice of virtue? And can virtue and his duty permit him to keep up an army without any authority from the publick; to ſeize on the towns of his fellow-citizens, in order to open himſelf a way to the deſtruction of his Country; to project the ſpunging of debts, the recalling of the baniſhed, and a thouſand other outrages; that by theſe means he may attain to Deſpotiſm, the great divinity of the ambitious? Let him keep his fortune to himſelf. As for me, I look on a walk with you at your country-ſeat as a greater good, than all ſuch tyrannies; or rather, I would die a thouſand deaths before I would harbour ſuch a thought. But, ſay you, if you had a mind to be a tyrant, you have not the means. I own it. But every body is able to will and deſire a thing. Now it is this very will that I conſider as ſomething more miſerable than crucifixion. There is but one degree of miſery beyond this; and that is to ſucceed in ſo unjuſt a deſire." Can there be any thing more forcible than this invective; any thing more noble than theſe ſentiments?

If to this we add, that Cicero thought, at the beginning of the war, that Cæſar's victory would be cruel; that he would ſhed blood like Cinna; that he would confiſcate and plunder like Sylla; in a word, that he would be a ſecond Phalaris; we may conceive what averſion our Orator had for Pompey's arrival: and if, on the other ſide, we recollect his opinion of

* O hominem amentem & miſerum, qui ne umbram quidem τῆ καλῆ viderit! Atque hæc ait omnia ſe facere dignitatis cauſa. Ubi eſt autem dignitas, niſi ubi honeſtas? Num honeſtum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico conſilio; occupare urbes civium, quo facilior ſit aditus ad patriam; χρέων ἀποκοπὰς, φυγάδων κατόδους, ſexcenta alia ſcelera moliri; τὴν θεὸν μεγίστην ὡσεὶ ἴσχειν τυραννίδα: Sibi habeat ſuam fortunam. Unam mehercule tecum apricationem in illo Lucretino ſolo malim, quam omnia iſtius modi regna; vel potius mori millies, quam ſemel iſtius modi quidquam cogitare. Quid ſi tu velis? inquis. Age, quis eſt, cui velle non liceat? Sed ego hoc ipſum velle miſerius duco, quam in crucem tolli. Una res eſt ea miſerior, adipiſci quod ita volueris. Cic. ad Att. vii. 11.

Pompey;

Pompey; we ſhall not be ſurprized at his writing to his friend, * "I know whom I ought to fly; but I know not whom I ought to follow." A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

However, his inclination, as I have obſerved, was for Pompey. It was not only gratitude for being recalled from exile; it was love, it was tenderneſs. He often indeed blames the conduct, and ſteps, of that General in his letters to Atticus; but it is always with bitter grief, with infinite regret. After Cæſar had ſhewn his clemency to the priſoners at Corfinium, which redounded ſo much to his honour, and by compariſon to Pompey's ſhame; Cicero is afflicted at the parallel. † "Is it not, ſays he, a moſt lamentable thing, that he, whoſe cauſe is deteſtable, ſhould gain applauſe; and that the defender of the good cauſe ſhould deſerve blame and reproach? That the firſt ſhould be the preſerver of his enemies, and the other the deſerter of his friends?" He adds ſome more reflections of the ſame ſort; then ſtopping ſhort, "Let us conclude, ſays he, for I increaſe my affliction by reflecting who cauſes it."

This tenderneſs is renewed at every untoward accident, at every danger, that threatened Pompey. ‡ "O grief, cries he, we are told that Cæſar is in purſuit of Pompey. Cæſar purſues Pompey! With what intention, good Gods! To kill him? Ah wretched me! And we do not all of us go and throw our bodies as a rampart before him! Your affliction, doubtleſs, equals mine, my Atticus. But what can we do? We are conquered, oppreſſed, and reduced to perfect impotence."

* Quem fugiam, habeo; quem ſequar, non habeo. Cic. ad Att. viii. 7.

† Quid hoc miſerius, quam alterum plauſus in fœdiſſima cauſa quærere, alterum offenſiones in optima? alterum exiſtimari conſervatorem, inimicorum, alterum deſertorem amicorum? — Sed hæc omittamus: augemus enim dolorem retractando. Cic. ad Att. viii. 9.

‡ Pompeium, o rem acerbam! perſequi Cæſar dicitur. Perſequi Cæſar Pompeium! quid! ut interficiat? O me miſerum! Et non omnes corpora noſtra opponimus! In quo tu quoque ingemiſcis. Sed quid faciamus? Victi, oppreſſi, capti plane ſumus. Cic. ad Att. vii. 23.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

It was no eaſy matter for Cicero to follow Pompey in his retreat; and he could not do it with a good-will, as all his ſteps diſpleaſed him. The abandoning of Rome, the neglect of Corfinium, and, above all, the deſign of quitting Italy, diſguſted him greatly. And Pompey had took all theſe reſolutions very myſteriouſly, of his own head, without communicating them to any body. Notwithſtanding, when Cicero knew he was beſieged in Brundiſium, and alſo when he heard he was gone into Greece, he was in the utmoſt deſpair. He reproached himſelf bitterly for not having accompanied him every where; he thought himſelf therein guilty of the moſt ſcandalous behaviour; his grief was immoderate. * He compares himſelf in this ſituation to a lover, who had been for a time diſguſted by the diſagreeable manners, negligence, and indelicacy, of his miſtreſs. "In the ſame manner, ſays he, his ſhameful flight, and unpardonable negligence, had ſtifled my affection for him. I ſaw nothing in all Pompey did, that could invite me to accompany him in his retreat. But, now he is gone, my love awakes; I cannot bear to be at a diſtance from him; nor books, nor letters, nor philoſophy, can make me eaſy. I turn my eyes day and night to the ſea, like a bird that is going to take its flight." Theſe impulſes were very forcible, but afterwards divers reflections counter-balanced them. Cicero came to himſelf again, when he conſidered the ſtrength and formidable activity of Cæſar; and Pompey's weakneſs, and the perpetual miſtakes he thought he ſaw in his conduct. If he was not ſatisfied with the Generaliſſimo, he heartily deſpiſed almoſt all his followers. To begin with the Conſuls, † he thought

* Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς alienant immundæ, inſulſæ, indecoræ, ſic me illius fugæ, negligentiæque, deformitas avertit ab amore. Nihil enim dignum faciebat quare ejus fugæ comitem me adjungerem. Nunc emergit amor; nunc deſiderium ferre non poſſum; nunc nihil libri, nihil litteræ, nihil doctrina, prodeſt; ita dies & noctes, tanquam avis illa, mare proſpecto, evolare cupio. ix. 10.

† Caves putes quidquam eſſe minoris his Conſulibus. vii. 12. Conſules pluma aut folio facilius moventur. viii. 15.

they

they deſerved the leaſt eſteem of any men in the world. They were lighter than leaves, or feathers. He looked on L. Domitius as a brute; and on Ap. Claudius as a weather-cock. On the other ſide, he was ſtaggered by the example of Ser. Sulpicius, and ſome other weighty perſons; who, though they went out of Rome with Pompey, ſeemed to be getting nearer and nearer to Cæſar. Add the ſollicitations of Cæſar himſelf, and of thoſe friends Cicero had in his party. Yet all this could not ſurmount the invincible averſion he had to Cæſar; but only ſomewhat weakened his attachment to Pompey. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Cic. ad Att. viii.

We have ſome letters from Cælius to Cicero, about this important affair. Cælius was a man of great genius, but wanted ſolidity, and was very deficient in moral principles. * He wrote to Cicero very frankly, that in civil commotions, as long as the conteſt was merely verbal, it was right to take the juſteſt ſide; but, when the quarrel came to be decided by the longeſt ſword, it was proper to take the ſtrongeſt ſide; and to think that beſt, that was ſafeſt. He had himſelf reduced this maxim to practice; and, though he had always appeared zealous for the ariſtocratic party and the laws, he left Pompey and the Senate in the critical moment, and went over to Cæſar. Cicero was far from embracing ſuch a ſyſtem. † "Cælius, ſays he to Atticus, has not perſuaded me to alter my way of thinking: I rather pity him for having altered his." viii. ad Fam. 14, 15, 16.

Neither Cæſar, nor any body for him, ever deſired Cicero to bear arms againſt Pompey. It would have been an indecent propoſal, which had no probability of ſucceſs. But he had thoſe who wrote to him, and he wrote to him ſeveral times himſelf, to perſuade

* Illud te non arbitror fugere, quin homines in diſſenſione domeſtica debeant, quamdiu civiliter ſine armis certetur, honeſtiorem ſequi partem; ubi ad bellum & caſtra ventum ſit, firmiorem; & id melius ſtatuere quod tutius ſit. Ep 14.

† Tantum abeſt ut meam ille (Cælius) ſententiam moveat, ut valde ego ipſi, quod de ſua ſententia deceſſerit, pœnitendum putem. Cic. de Att. viii. 3.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. him to go to Rome with him. This was his motive. He wanted much to decorate his party; which, though ſtrong, was void of ſplendor and dignity. The Conſuls and all the Senators having retired with Pompey, there remained in the capital only the lower people, and a few perſons of ſome rank, ſuch as Atticus and ſome others. Cæſar therefore, though in poſſeſſion of Rome, would have been there in a manner alone, or at leaſt without wherewith to repreſent the form of a Commonwealth. To obviate this inconvenience, he took great pains to re-aſſemble at Rome all the titled perſons he could, in order to do honour to his cauſe. It was with this view that he ſtrongly ſollicited the Conſul Lentulus; but, as we have ſeen, without ſucceſs. He was more lucky with reſpect to ſome of the Prætors, Tribunes of the People, and other inferior Magiſtrates. He ſucceeded alſo with Ser. Sulpicius, Volcatius Tullus, and M. Lepidus, all Conſular perſons. But Cicero would have given an incomparably greater luſtre to the Senate; which was going to be aſſembled by Cæſar's orders, and under his eyes. Cæſar thought it worth while to make an effort himſelf; and to try if he could not obtain that by an interview, which had been refuſed to his letters. Accordingly, in his return from Brundiſium, he went through Formiæ, where Cicero was.

Cic. ad Att. ix. 18. Our Orator was prepared for this ſhock, and ſuſtained it nobly. Cæſar preſſed him extremely to come to the Senate; and went ſo far as to ſay, that he thought his honour concerned; and that Cicero's abſence, in theſe circumſtances, was a condemnation of his cauſe. When he found he got nothing by his importunity, "Well, adds he, come, if it is but to "ſpeak about peace." "Shall I be ſuffered, ſays Ci- "cero, to ſpeak of it according to my real ſenti- "ments?" "Can you doubt of it, replies Cæſar, and "do you think I ſhall attempt to dictate to you what "you are to ſpeak?" "In that caſe, anſwers Cicero, "I ſhall ſay that the Senate does not approve of in- "vading Spain, nor of tranſporting troops into "Greece;

" Greece; and I ſhall deplore the unhappy ſituation " of Pompey." Cæſar hereupon interrupted him by ſaying, that this was a language not to be ſuffered. " I knew that well, replies Cicero, and that is the " reaſon why I will not go to the Senate; ſince I muſt " either ſtay away, or ſpeak there in the ſtile you " have heard." Cæſar was extremely piqued, and dropped theſe words, " that, ſince thoſe who could give him advice would not, he would take advice of whoever would give it, and ſhould proceed to extremities." However, to get off decently, he adviſed Cicero to reconſider the affair, before he made his final determination. This could not be refuſed; and Cæſar went away, leaving Cicero well ſatisfied with himſelf, with reaſon; for it required courage to reſiſt ſo formidable a man. However, we cannot but applaud Cæſar's moderation; who, when he could have forced him, ſuffered this reſiſtance. It is true, he had no right to compel Cicero to do what he deſired. But there is ſome merit in a man's not doing all the ill he is able to do. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Cæſar's retinue alone would have been enough to have hindered Cicero from joining him, if he had not ſo many other reaſons againſt it. It conſiſted of people, infamous for debauchery, loaded with debts, contemners of law and religion, judicially branded, baniſhed for crimes. Cicero knew them all, but had never ſeen them all together before. What a collection! How could he have aſſociated with ſuch wretches! Satisfied, however, that he had offended Cæſar by his obſtinate refuſal, he reſolved to croſs the ſea, and go after Pompey.

He did not hurry himſelf in the execution of this reſolution. The indifferent opinion he had of Pompey's proceedings, and of the conduct of the heads of his party; the notion that croſſed him of retiring to Malta, or ſome other neutral city; the ſollicitation of Cælius, who wrote him a kind, pathetic, letter, conjuring him not to run into deſtruction; the intreaties of his wife Terentia, and of his beloved daughter Cic. ad Att. x. Cæl. ad Cic. viii. ad Fam. 16.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Tullia, who, by Atticus's advice, begged him to defer his departure, until the ſucceſs of Cæſar's war in Spain againſt Pompey's Lieutenants was known; all this delayed his voyage above two months, but altered not his reſolution.

Cic. ad Fam. xiv. 7. At laſt he embarked on the ſeventh of June, with his ſon, who a little before had put on the toga virilis at Arpinum; and, having got into Pompey's camp, was received with open arms by every one, except Cato, who alone blamed him. "I could not help, "ſays he to him, acting agreeably to the ſyſtem I "have followed my whole life. But, as to you, you "was not neceſſitated to declare yourſelf Cæſar's "enemy, and expoſe yourſelf to danger. You ought "to have continued neuter, that, if there had been at "any time an opening for peace, you might have "acted as a mediator."

Plut. Cic.

Cato's reflection was juſt, and Cicero ſoon became ſenſible of its truth. Unfit for war, and beſides too clear-ſighted to overlook any of the faults of his party, he could not help talking of them; and expreſſing his diſcontent, and repentance of the engagements he had entered into. In conſequence of which Pompey grew very cool to him, and gave him no ſhare in the management of affairs. Thus Cicero was of no advantage to the party for which he declared; and got nothing by it himſelf but vexation, trouble, and danger.

Cic. ad Att. ix 12. We now return to Cæſar, who went directly from this interview with Cicero to Rome. That city was already, before his arrival, ſomewhat recovered from the trouble and horrible agitation it had been thrown into by the flight of Pompey and almoſt all the Senate. Several Prætors adminiſtered juſtice there; the Ædiles were making preparations for the publick games; trade and private affairs were returned into the old channel. Cæſar's ſollicitations had alſo brought back ſome Senators of diſtinction; and, when he came to town, the Tribunes Anthony and Q. Caſſius convoked the Senate in one of the ſuburbs, that Cæſar might

Dio, l. 12.

be

be preſent without violation of the laws, which he pretended to reſpect in ſome degree. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

There Cæſar pleaded his cauſe, and endeavoured to throw all blame on his enemies and Pompey. After which he added theſe words, which in my mind are very remarkable: * "That he deſired the Senators to undertake the adminiſtration of the Republick jointly with him. But that, if they declined it through fear, he would take upon himſelf the burthen, and govern alone." This ſeems to me almoſt a direct propoſal to them to make him Dictator. And indeed it was proper to have ſome title to cloke his enterprizes with. For all he had done ſince the paſſage of the Rubicon was abſolutely irregular, and wanted even the form of legal authority. What confirms me in this opinion, is, that it appears by a letter of Cicero, that the nomination of a Dictator was already bruited about. But this was what could not be brought to bear at this time. People probably were not ſufficiently prepared as yet. And Cæſar, who was not ſcrupulous, continued to act as he had began, by force alone. Cæſ. de B. Civ. I. 32. ix. ad Att. 15.

He concluded his diſcourſe to the Senate, by ſaying, † "That it would be proper to ſend a deputation to Pompey, to treat of an accommodation. That, for his part, he was not frighted at the difficulty that Pompey ſtarted ſome time before in the Senate; and that he did not think, that to ſend Deputies was to acknowledge the ſuperiority of him to whom they were ſent, and a ſign of timidity in the ſender. That this was a little, low, way of thinking; and that, in the

* Orat ac poſtulat, Rempublicam ſuſcipiant atque una ſecum adminiſtrent. Sin timore defugiant, illi ſe oneri non defuturum, & per ſe Rempublicam adminiſtraturum.

† Legatos ad Pompeium de compoſitione mitti oportere. Neque ſe reformidare quod in Senatu paulo ante Pompeius dixiſſet, ad quos legati mitterentur, eis auctoritatem attribui, timoremque eorum qui mitterent ſignificari. Tenuis atque infirmi hæc animi videri. Se vero ut operibus anteire ſtuduerit, ſic juſtitia & æquitate velle ſuperare.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. ſame manner, as he had endeavoured at a ſuperiority in action, he ſhould alſo ſtrive to be ſuperior in juſtice and equity."

Thus, ſuch men as Cæſar make a jeſt of the moſt ſacred opinions, the moſt venerable maxims. Juſtice was what he little troubled himſelf about; but he was glad to procure the appearance of it, by ſhewing an inclination for a peace, which he knew impracticable; and which he would have oppoſed, had he thought it feaſible.

Dio. He ſpoke in the ſame ſtile to the People, who aſſembled alſo out of the city to hear him. He promiſed them, beſides, to take great care to keep up plenty in Rome, by ſending corn from Sicily and Sardinia, and made a donative of * three hundred ſeſterces a man. In conſequence of theſe pacific diſcourſes, the Romans reſumed the habit of peace, which had been diſuſed from the taking of Rimini. But they were far from being eaſy. The great number of Cæſar's ſoldiers in the city; the ſmall confidence to be put in a language which the circumſtances of affairs might dictate; the examples of Marius and Sylla, who had made as fair promiſes at firſt, however poſitively they acted afterwards; all theſe things created anxiety and terror.

Cæſ. What ſtrengthened theſe ſuſpicions was, that the deputation propoſed by Cæſar was never ſent. No Senator would undertake it; whether they were afraid of Pompey, as Cæſar ſays in his Commentaries, or were aware of the impoſſibility of projecting a peace between two enemies, who neither of them deſired it.

Cæſar came to Rome with an intention to do many things, which he does not acquaint us with, but which we may in part gueſs at. The Dictatorſhip for himſelf, the recalling of thoſe who had been baniſhed in conſequence of the laws made by Pompey in his third Conſulſhip, were, probably, ſome of the moſt conſiderable. Without entering into particulars, he ſays

* Two pounds ſix ſhillings and ten-pence half-penny.

in

in general, that the Tribune L. Metellus, ſuborned by his enemy, oppoſed and hindered him in every thing; and made him waſte ſeveral days in Rome, to no purpoſe. But he entirely omits the moſt violent conteſt he had with that Tribune. The reaſon of which omiſſion will ſufficiently appear from the ſimple relation of the fact. A.R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

He wanted money; and reſolved to take all he could find in the public Treaſury. Metellus oppoſing this, Cæſar ſpoke to him with unuſual haughtineſs. "It is not to the purpoſe, ſays he, to talk of law in "the midſt of arms. I am Maſter, not only of the "Money, but of the Lives of all thoſe I have con-"quered." Theſe terrible words did not intimidate the Tribune; and, as it was neceſſary to break open the doors of the Treaſury, the Conſuls having carried away the keys, he ran thither, to prevent, by the authority of his office, ſuch a violence. Cæſar, loſing all patience, threatened him with death, in expreſs terms; and added, "Young man, conſider, that it "coſts me more to ſay ſuch a thing, than to do it." The Tribune hereupon, being terrified, retired. Lucan. III. Plut. Cæſ. Appian. Dio.

Some people yet ventured to repreſent to Cæſar, that there was in the Treaſury ſome money forbad to be meddled with, under the moſt horrible imprecations, unleſs in a war with the Gauls. "I have en-"tirely removed, ſays Cæſar, that ſcruple, by ſub-"duing Gaul, and putting it out of the power of the "Gauls to make war on us for the future." He then commanded the doors and locks to be broke open, and took away all he found there; which was, according to Pliny, twenty-five thouſand bars of gold, thirty-five thouſand of ſilver, and * forty millions of ſeſterces. Plin. xxxiii. 3.

The ſame Pliny reports, that Cæſar, at the ſame time, took out of the Treaſury fifteen hundred pounds of Laſer of Cyrene, a drug of great price among the ancients, and much eſteemed by them, not only for Idem. xix. 3.

* About three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

medicinal

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. medicinal uſe, but alſo for ſauce. This drug is, however, according to the opinion of an author much to be depended on in theſe matters, what we now call Aſſa-fœtida, whoſe ſmell and taſte is ſcarce to be borne. Yet even at this time the Orientals are very fond of it.

Geoffroi. Mat. Med. T. II. p. 606.

Cæſar doubtleſs was, with reaſon, aſhamed to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch an heinous outrage. He ſeems to have had a mind to palliate it ſomewhat, by ſlipping into his narration a fact, which, if true, would excuſe the moſt odious circumſtance attending it. He relates, that the Conſul Lentulus, ſoon after he left Rome, was ſent back again, by Pompey, to take the money out of the public Treaſury; and that, while he was there, he imagined, on a ſudden (on a falſe alarm) that the enemy was at the city-gates; which frightened him ſo, that he thought of nothing but ſaving himſelf; and made off, leaving the Treaſury open. This fact, in itſelf not very probable, is entirely deſtroyed by the concurring teſtimony of all other writers; who affirm, that Cæſar found the Treaſury ſhut, and broke it open.

Cæſ. de B. Civ. I. 14.

It is alſo certain, that this audacious action rendered him odious to the People, till then, devoted to him. This he ſo well knew, that he durſt not harangue them, as he propoſed, before his departure. Cicero obſerves *, that he did himſelf hurt, deſtroying, by plundering the Treaſury, the opinion he laboured to inculcate of his opulence; and, by his threats to Metellus, the affected clemency he ſo much valued himſelf upon.

Cic. ad Att. x. 4.

It was not his enemies only, who conſidered his clemency as affected: Curio talked in the ſame ſtrain. He told Cicero, that Metellus's death, had he made himſelf be killed, would have been the ſignal for a general maſſacre; that Cæſar was not naturally merciful, but only affected it, to make himſelf popular;

Cic. ibid.

* Qui duarum rerum ſimulationem tam cito amiſerit, manſuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in ærario. Cic. ad Att. X. 8.

and

and that, if he once found he had loſt the favour of the People, he would become cruel. But theſe diſcourſes of Curio rather ſhew what he himſelf thought, than what Cæſar thought. In fact, all thoſe who were about him, perſuaded him to put his enemies to the ſword. And it is this that makes the encomium of his clemency, and proves the glory thence reſulting to be due to him alone, ſince he conſtantly adhered thereto, againſt the advice, and maugre the ſollicitations of thoſe who did him the greateſt ſervice. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

SECT. II.

Cæſar, before he ſets out for Spain, appoints Commanders in his name in Italy, and ſeveral provinces. Marſeilles ſhuts its gates againſt him; he beſieges it. He cuts down a conſecrated wood, to employ it in his works. He leaves the conduct of the ſiege to Trebonius, and continues his route to Spain. Pompey's forces in Spain. Afranius and Petreius encamp on the Segre, near Lerida. It appears, that Cæſar's army was ſtrong and numerous. Gauliſh cavalry. He ſtraitens the enemy. Fight, in which he does not ſucceed. He is in great difficulties. He recovers his ſuperiority. He obliges the enemy to leave their camp. He purſues them, and prevents their paſſing the Ebre. He ſpares his enemies, when he has it in his power to cut them to pieces; chuſing to reduce them to lay down their arms. Treaty almoſt concluded between the ſoldiers of the two armies. Petreius prevents its execution. Cruelty of that Lieutenant of Pompey. Cæſar's clemency. The war renewed. Cæſar, by harraſſing and diſtreſſing his enemies, compels them to ſurrender. Interview of Afranius and Cæſar; who inſiſts only on the diſbanding of the adverſary troops. That condition is agreed to, and executed. Cæſar eaſily ſubdues Ulterior Spain; after which he goes before Marſeilles. Account of what had paſſed at the ſiege of Marſeilles, in Cæſar's abſence. Perfidy charged on the inhabitants of Marſeilles, with little

little probability. Cæſar's ſevere, but not cruel, behaviour to them. Cæſar's party receives a check in Illyricum. The ſoldiers of one of Cæſar's cohorts kill one another, rather than ſurrender. Curio paſſes over into Africa, to wage war with Attius Varus, and Juba, King of Mauritania. Curio's ſucceſs, at firſt. Varus endeavours to debauch his troops. Curio's conſtancy in that danger. His diſcourſes to the Council of war, and the ſoldiery. The ſoldiers promiſe fidelity. He defeats Varus. Juba comes to the aſſiſtance of Varus. Curio's preſumption. Battle, in which Curio's army is entirely routed. Curio makes himſelf be killed on the ſpot. Unhappy fate of almoſt all who were not ſlain in the battle. Juba's cruelty and arrogance. Reflection on the misfortune and raſhneſs of Curio.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Appian.

CÆSAR, before he ſet out for Spain, took proper meaſures to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Italy, and the provinces he left behind. He gave the Government of Rome to Lepidus, then Prætor; and who afterwards uſurped the Sovereign Power (with Anthony and young Cæſar) under the title of Triumvir. Anthony, who was then Tribune, had the care of Italy. His brother, C. Antonius, had the Government of Illyricum, and Craſſus that of Ciſalpine Gaul. Cæſar alſo gave orders for building and equipping two fleets; one on the Adriatic Sea, and the other on the Tuſcan. Dolabella, Cicero's ſon-in-law, had the Command of the firſt; and the ſon of the Orator Hortenſius that of the ſecond. We have ſeen, that Valerius had been ſent into Sardinia, and Curio into Sicily, to go from thence into Africa. Cæſar's care extended even to Syria, and the Eaſt. He ſet at liberty the unfortunate Ariſtobulus, formerly King of the Jews, that he might go into Judæa, and raiſe ſome commotions, if poſſible, and thwart Metellus Scipio, who was aſſembling forces in Syria, for Pompey's ſervice. When he had made theſe diſpoſitions, Cæſar thought he might give himſelf entirely to his Spaniſh

Joſ. xiv. 23.

Spaniſh expedition. The city of Marſeilles occaſioned a delay, which, I believe, he did not expect. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

When he came near it, he found the gates ſhut; and was informed, the inhabitants made all ſorts of preparations for a vigorous defence, in caſe they were beſieged. The citizens of Marſeilles thought they performed the duty of ancient and faithful allies of Rome, by eſpouſing Pompey's party, with whom they ſaw the Senate and Conſuls. I may even ſay, that, having the greateſt veneration for the laws of probity and virtue (for ſuch they are repreſented by ancient writers) they could not be well-affected to Cæſar. It is true, they had ſome obligations to him; but ſo they had to Pompey too, who had reminded their Deputies thereof, when conſtrained to leave Rome. For theſe reaſons they had determined not to admit Cæſar into their city; and it appears, that they had even entered into engagements with Domitius; who, ſince the affair of Corfinium, had concealed himſelf at an eſtate he had on the coaſt of Tuſcany, and had equipped ſeven barks, with which he had actually ſet ſail for Marſeilles. Cæſ de B. Civ. I. 34.

Cæſar was not a man to put up the affront done him by the Marſeillians, in refuſing him admittance into their town. He ſent for the Chiefs of the Public Council, and endeavoured to bring them over by gentle exhortations, pronounced however with the force of authority. Theſe Deputies, having heard him, returned into the town, and brought back the anſwer of their Senate to this purpoſe: "That they ſaw the Romans divided into two parties; and that it did not belong to them to decide ſuch a quarrel. That at the head of theſe parties were Pompey and Cæſar, both of them patrons and protectors of their city. That in ſuch a conjuncture, it beſt became them to be neuter; and to refuſe both of the Competitors admittance, either into their city, or port." This language was ſpecious, but inſincere; for, at the ſame time that they excluded Cæſar, they admitted Domitius;

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. tius; who got by ſea into the town, and took the military Command.

Cæſar was therefore neceſſitated either to retire ignominiouſly, or to beſiege Marſeilles. He choſe the latter; brought three legions before the town, and began to erect batteries. For the conſtruction of the towers, galleries, and other works, then uſed in ſieges, he ordered a neighbouring wood to be cut down. This wood was conſecrated; and the ſoldiers were ſcrupulous about it. Cæſar, who was not at all ſuperſtitious, or, to ſpeak properly, not at all religious, but an abſolute Epicurean, in ſpeculation and practice; takes himſelf an ax, cuts down a tree, and, by his example, overcomes the timid reluctance of his ſoldiers. Luc. l. 3.

To deprive the beſieged of the advantage of the ſea, he built at Arles twelve gallies; which were launched within thirty days from the cutting of the wood they were compoſed of. He gave the Command of this little fleet to D. Brutus; and, having directed the ſiege, left the care of it to Trebonius; and continued his route towards Spain, where he had ſent before him C. Fabius, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbonne. His other legions, whoſe quarters were more remote, had orders to follow, as faſt as they could.

Pompey had a conſiderable force in Spain. It conſiſted of ſeven legions, ſix of which had been raiſed in Italy, and the ſeventh in that country. Theſe ſeven legions were diſtributed under three of Pompey's Lieutenants, Afranius, a Conſular perſon, Petreius, who had been Prætor, and * M. Varro. The firſt had three of them under him; and his Government extended from the Pyrenæan mountains to the Guadalquivir. The other two had each two legions; and commanded, the one in the country between the Gua-

* I ſee no reaſon not to think, that this third Lieutenant of Pompey was the learned Varro; who had already ſerved under him in the Piratical war.

dalquivir

dalquivir and the Gaudiana, and the other in Luſitania. Pompey having ſent to them Vibullius Rufus, one of thoſe who eſcaped at Corfinium, to acquaint them, that they muſt prepare to make head againſt Cæſar; they conſulted together, and agreed, that Petreius ſhould join Afranius with his two legions; and that Varro ſhould ſtay and ſecure Ulterior Spain. Petreius and Afranius, when united, found themſelves at the head of five legions, and eighty Spaniſh cohorts, ſome light, ſome heavy, armed; making, in all, above ſixty thouſand men. With this force they came and encamped near Lerida, on the Segre; which they thought an advantageous poſt. Their camp was on an eminence: they had a communication with the town; and the Segre in front, over which there was, at that place, a ſtone-bridge, which ſecured their paſſage: and in their rear was a fertile plain, terminated by another river, called Cinca. In this ſituation they hoped to be able to ſtop Cæſar, and cover all Spain. Afranius had alſo took poſſeſſion of the defiles of the Pyrenæan mountains; but Fabius eaſily forced them, made long marches towards Lerida, and encamped over-againſt the enemy, on the other ſide of the river. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

We do not know what number of legions and auxiliaries Cæſar's army conſiſted of, when it was compleat; not but he had informed us in his Commentaries, but the text is here defective. There is reaſon to believe it was numerous; and we know, in particular, that a fine body of Gauliſh horſe contributed much to his victory.

One reaſon that made Cæſar particularly careful to ſtrengthen his army, was a rumour, that Pompey was coming with his whole force through Mauritania into Spain. This it was too, perhaps, which made him take a ſingular precaution to ſecure the fidelity of his troops. He borrowed money of the officers; which he diſtributed among the ſoldiers; and thus ſecured the firſt by intereſt, and the others by gratitude. The officers had entruſted him with part of their

A.R. 703. Ant. C. 49. their fortune; and the ſoldiers loved him for his bounty.

Nothing of conſequence happened in Spain, during Cæſar's abſence; except that one of the two bridges Fabius had on the Segre being broke down on a ſudden, by the violence of the winds and floods, two of his legions were by that accident cut off, and ſeparated from the reſt of the army. Afranius laid hold of the opportunity, and attacked them; and put them in ſome danger. But Plancus, who commanded them, making a vigorous defence, Fabius had time to come to his aſſiſtance, whereupon both armies returned to their camps, without much loſs on either ſide.

Two days after this, Cæſar arrived, eſcorted by nine hundred horſe, which he kept for a body-guard. He began by re-eſtabliſhing, the night after his arrival, the broken bridge. The next day he croſſed the Segre, and offered battle to Afranius; who contented himſelf with drawing his forces out of the camp, and forming them in order of battle, half way down the hill, but would not deſcend into the plain. Cæſar, finding he declined an engagement, reſolved to ſtraiten him, and to encamp in the very place he had advanced to; which was within four hundred paces of the hill on which Pompey's Lieutenants were encamped. In order to effect this, he made the third line of his army dig a ditch in front of the enemy, while the two firſt continued in battalia. This was done without any interruption from Petreius or Afranius, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of what he was about: and, when it was finiſhed, Cæſar retreated, with his whole army, behind the ditch, and paſſed there the night. The following days he compleated the whole circuit, with its ramparts and parapets; following throughout the ſame method, and keeping the greateſt part of his troops under arms, to cover thoſe who worked. He thus formed a camp, in the ſight of the enemy, without loſs, hazard, or inconvenience; and brought into it all that remained in the

he old camp, which was ſix cohorts, with the bag- A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.
gage.

Between the hill that Pompey's Lieutenants occu-
ied, and the city of Lerida, was a plain of about
hree hundred paces; in the midſt of which was a ri-
ing ground, which Cæſar wanted to take poſſeſſion of;
ecauſe, by that means, he could cut off Afranius's
ommunication with the town, where his magazines
ere, and alſo with the ſtone-bridge. Afranius hav-
ng found out his deſign, was aware of the conſe-
uences. There was a long and ſharp combat about
hat hillock; wherein Cæſar's troops had like to have
een defeated; and, at laſt, though they behaved
ell, Afranius had the advantage, as he kept the poſ-
eſſion of the hillock. He then fortified it, and poſted
here a large body of troops.

Cæſar obſerves, that one reaſon for his not ſucceed-
ng in this action was, that the enemy's manner of
ighting was new to his ſoldiers. For, having been
ong in Spain, they had, as it is uſual, given into the
manners of the country. They fought almoſt like
Barbarians: advancing boldly, and then retiring; nei-
her taking care to keep their ranks, nor thinking it
iſhonourable to quit their poſt. This method is
ertainly inferior to that of fighting in a compact body,
without ſtirring: but, as it was new and unexpected,
t diſordered Cæſar's ſoldiers.

This beginning of bad fortune to Cæſar was ſoon
ollowed by other diſaſters. The Segre, being ſwelled
n an extraordinary manner, broke down the two
ridges Fabius had built over it: ſo that Cæſar found
imſelf ſhut up between two rivers, the Segre and
he Cinca, in a ſpace of no more than ten leagues, in
want of proviſions, which he could not get from the
ountry itſelf, becauſe Pompey's Lieutenants had eat
t up; nor receive by convoys from Gaul and Italy,
s he could not croſs the river. Afranius, on the
ontrary, abounded in all things. He had large ma-
gazines; and beſides his bridge, as it was of ſtone,
ad withſtood the force of the water; ſo that he was

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. at liberty to extend himſelf, and ſecure the paſſage of every thing that came to his camp. The Spaniards that were in his army did him great ſervice, and incommoded Cæſar much. They were acquainted with the country, were active and alert, ſcoured about, and fell on all who ſtraggled from Cæſar's camp in ſearch of proviſions and forage. The rivers themſelves did not impede them; they were accuſtomed to paſs them on blown-up ſkins, which they always brought with them into the field. Thus was Cæſar in a manner beſieged, and in danger of having his army ruined by want.

He endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh his bridges, but could not get the better of the obſtacles he met with from the water and enemy at once. A great convoy was come from Gaul, conſiſting of archers, Gauliſh horſe, with many carts and much baggage, and about ſix thouſand men, of all ſorts, without diſcipline or commander. The river ſtopt them ſhort. Afranius, having intelligence of it, croſſed the Segre with all his cavalry and three legions; and attacked them, when they leaſt expected it. The valour of the Gauliſh horſe ſaved them; for, by their long reſiſtance, they gave the others time to gain the mountains, where they were ſafe. They only loſt two hundred archers, a few troopers, and ſome ſervants and baggage.

This, however, was an additional misfortune to Cæſar. The price of proviſions roſe upon it in his camp; and a buſhel of corn, which was near a fourth leſs than ours, ſold there for fifty denarii *.

This news having reached Rome, and being exaggerated, as uſual, by common report, and the letters of Pompey's Lieutenants and their friends, Cæſar was thought to be undone; and many illuſtrious Senators, who, till then, had doubted for whom to declare, went into Greece, thinking it a ſtep in which they ran no riſque, and which, notwithſtanding, was not ſo late

* Almoſt eight ſhillings.

as to ſubject them to the reproach of having waited for the event of things. I do not know, whether Cicero is to be ranked with theſe, or whether he was gone ſome time before. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Cæſar well knew how to bring back fortune; and to prove that a great genius, though involved in difficulties, is always ſuperior to men of moderate capacities, to whom circumſtances have given ſome advantage. And this is the expedient he thought of. He built ſome light barks, in imitation of ſome he had ſeen in Great-Britain, whoſe keel and ribs were of wood, and the reſt of wicker, covered with leather. When he had got a ſufficient number, he ſent them by night, in waggons, twenty-two miles off his camp. In theſe he embarked a good number of ſoldiers, and ſent them over the river; took poſſeſſion of a little hill on the other ſide; threw up a fortification before the enemy thought of hindering him; poſted a legion in this fortification; and then threw a bridge over the Segre in two days.

The firſt uſe he made of his bridge, was to collect the great convoy that had been in ſuch danger: the ſubſiſtence of the troops became hereupon eaſier; and, the very day the bridge was finiſhed, great part of his cavalry went over, and fell on the enemy's foragers, who expected nothing leſs; cut to pieces a whole Spaniſh cohort, and returned to the camp with great booty. At the ſame time Cæſar had good news from the ſiege of Marſeilles; which heartened his army greatly: and, from this period, Cæſar acquired a ſuperiority over Afranius, which continually increaſed, till his deciſive victory. His cavalry, which was very fine and numerous, harraſſed the enemy greatly. They no longer durſt diſperſe for forage; or, if they did, ſuffered for it. At laſt, they were reduced to forage in the night, contrary to the general cuſtom of war.

As ſoon as Cæſar's affairs were in a good ſituation, the neighbouring nations eagerly ſought his friendſhip; and, in conſequence of it, ſent him proviſions.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Afranius loſt every day ſome ally. The ſpirit of defection ſpread far and wide; and ſome diſtant nations renounced their engagements with Pompey's Lieutenants, and entered into new ones with Cæſar.

Afranius began to be terrified. Cæſar increaſed his fright, by one of thoſe enterprizes which ſhew in him both a genius fertile in expedients, and a courage equal to any attempt. His bridge was above ſeven leagues off his camp, and conſequently his cavalry had a great way to go to croſs the river. He bethought himſelf of draining the river, by turning ſome of its water into canals thirty feet deep, ſo as to make it fordable. Afranius and Petreius were apprehenſive, that, when the work was finiſhed, Cæſar's cavalry would entirely cut off their proviſions and forage. They therefore thought proper to quit a poſt that was no longer tenable; and to carry the war into Celtiberia, where Pompey was in great repute, on account of his exploits againſt Sertorius, whereas the name of Cæſar was little known. They reckoned to get from thence conſiderable reinforcements; and, by taking the advantage of places, to ſpin out the war, and ſo gain the winter.

In order to execute this plan, they were to paſs the Ebre. They therefore collected all the boats to be found on that river, deſigning to make a bridge of them at Octogeſa, a city on the Ebre, at a ſmall diſtance to the left of the Segre, and twenty miles from their camp. They perceived that Cæſar's work advanced. Already the water of the Segre was ſo diminiſhed, that the cavalry could, with ſome difficulty, paſs over, and it took the infantry no higher than the ſhoulders. Pompey's Lieutenants thought it now time to retreat, and, having firſt ſent over the Segre two legions to mark out a camp, they followed them ſoon with the reſt of their forces, leaving only two cohorts in garriſon at Lerida.

Cæſar had a mind to purſue them, but was much embarraſſed how to do it. If he went with the whole army over his bridge, he lengthened his march prodigiouſly,

digiouſly, and gave Afranius time enough to get to the Ebre. To expoſe his infantry, by paſſing a river, whoſe height was ſtill ſo conſiderable, was to riſque much; and, perhaps, he was afraid, that his ſoldiers were not diſpoſed to undertake it. His cavalry he could uſe, of which he ſent a large detachment over the Segre; who overtake the enemy, harraſs them, fatigue them, and prevent their advancing. The combatants were ſeen from the hills near Cæſar's encampment. At this ſight the legionary ſoldiers come of themſelves into the ſentiments he wiſhed; they are enraged to ſee the enemy eſcape them, they addreſs themſelves to their Officers, and deſire them to beg of their General not to ſpare them; they declare, that they fear neither danger nor fatigue, and that they are ready to paſs the river as the horſe had done. Cæſar affected ſome reluctance, then yielded to their intreaties: and, having withdrawn from every company ſuch as were weak of body or of leſs courage than the reſt, he left them in the camp with a legion and all the baggage. The reſt of the army happily paſſed the river, by the aſſiſtance of a double line of cavalry, placed above and below them. Some of the infantry were carried away by the violence of the current, but they were picked up and ſaved by the horſe below them, ſo that not one man was loſt. This great obſtacle being overcome, every thing elſe was eaſy; and notwithſtanding the army was obliged to make a circuit of ſix miles, notwithſtanding the time neceſſarily loſt in croſſing the river; the ardour of Cæſar's ſoldiers was ſuch, that they got up at the ninth hour of the day to the enemy, who had ſet out at midnight. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

When Afranius perceived them at ſome diſtance, being with reaſon intimidated, he ſuſpended his march, halted on an eminence, and formed in order of battle. Cæſar would not hazard an action with his troops thus fatigued, and halted likewiſe in the plain. On this, the enemy reſumed their march, and he the purſuit. At laſt they encamped, in which they com-

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. mitted a great fault. For five miles off were mountains and defiles, where a very ſmall number of men might have ſtopt Cæſar's whole army, by which means they would have continued their march to the Ebre, without fear or danger. But, being fatigued by a long march, during the whole of which they had continual ſkirmiſhes with Cæſar's cavalry, they deferred every thing until the next day. The opportunity, thus neglected, never returned, and this was the cauſe of their ruin.

About midnight, Cæſar was informed that Pompey's Lieutenants were decamping without noiſe. Immediately he gives his army the ſignal to march. The enemy, finding they ſhould be purſued, kept ſtill; being afraid of a nocturnal fight, wherein they would have had greatly the diſadvantage, on account of their heavy baggage which they had with them, and the ſuperiority of Cæſar's cavalry. As, therefore, they could not give the ſlip to their vigilant adverſary, they reſolved not to hurry themſelves, but to take their own time, and march at their eaſe by day-light; ſatisfied they ſhould then be more able to defend themſelves, when attacked on their route. But this was not Cæſar's deſign. Full of that fire, which we can never admire too much, he had formed a ſcheme to go round the enemy's camp, and get before them to the defiles of the mountains. Afranius was maſter of the direct road. Cæſar was therefore obliged to march through vallies and precipices, and over ſteep rocks, which the ſoldiers could not climb, but by diſencumbering themſelves of their arms, and returning them afterwards to one another. In this march they ſeemed at firſt to turn their backs on the enemy; wherefore Afranius's ſoldiers, who obſerved them from their camp, inſulted them on their ſuppoſed flight. But they were ſtrangely ſurprized, when they ſaw them after ſome time turn to the right, ſo that the moſt advanced of them were near their camp. They then ran all to arms, and were for making haſte to the mountains. But the time was paſt: Cæſar had got the

the ſtart of them: and as his cavalry perpetually incommoded the enemy, and retarded their march; his legions, notwithſtanding the difficult ways, got firſt to the defiles. A.R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Afranius ſaw now that he had the enemy both in front and rear. In this diſtreſs he halted on an eminence, from whence he detached four Spaniſh cohorts to take poſſeſſion of the higheſt mountain thereabouts. His intention was to get to Octogeſa over the hills, as he was debarred the way of the plain. But Cæſar's cavalry ſurrounded, and cut thoſe four cohorts to pieces, in ſight of both armies.

Cæſar had a fine opportunity to exterminate Afranius's army, which, in the conſternation it then was, would have made little reſiſtance. He was preſſed, on all ſides, to give the ſignal; and the Officers got round him, proving by arguments, which he certainly had no occaſion for, that victory was inevitable. But he abſolutely refuſed to engage; becauſe, he knew, he could bring things to a concluſion, without drawing a ſword, and reduce the enemy by famine. "Why ſhould I," ſaid he, "even ſuppoſing the "event of the battle to be fortunate, why ſhould I "expoſe to death and wounds ſoldiers who have de"ſerved ſo well of me? Why ſhould I tempt fortune? "It is leſs worthy of a good General to gain the vic"tory by his ſkill, than by the force of his arms?" He was alſo, as he aſſures us, touched with compaſſion for Afranius's ſoldiers; who, after all, were his countrymen, and whom he muſt have ſlaughtered, when he could equally ſucceed without touching their lives. Perhaps, alſo, he too much deſpiſed Pompey's Lieutenants to match himſelf with them, and had a mind to reduce them to the mortifying neceſſity of laying down their arms, and begging quarter.

This his reſolution was not at all reliſhed by his army; who, in their diſcontent, ſaid aloud, that ſince Cæſar did not lay hold of ſo favourable an opportunity, nor let them fight when they had a mind, they would not fight when he had a mind. But nothing

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. could ſhake him. He was ſo ſure of conqueſt, that he even retreated a little, to give Afranius and Petreius liberty to regain their camp, which they did. He then poſted troops on the mountains to guard the defiles, and came and encamped as near the enemy as poſſible.

Cæſar was near reaping the very next day the fruits of his clemency and good conduct. For Pompey's Lieutenants having undertook to draw a foſſe and parapet from their camp to the place where they watered, and being gone to give directions themſelves about the work, many of their ſoldiers, in their abſence, entered into converſation with thoſe they knew in Cæſar's army. They began by thanking them for having ſpared them the day before, owning they were indebted to them for their lives. Afterwards they aſked them, if they might truſt to Cæſar's honour; teſtifying much grief, at being obliged to fight with their countrymen and relations, with whom they were united by the holieſt ties. At laſt, they ſtipulated even for their Generals, whom they would not ſeem to betray; and promiſed, if the lives of Afranius and Petreius were granted them, to change ſides. They had already ſent ſome of their principal Officers to negotiate with Cæſar; and, theſe preliminaries to an accommodation being ſettled, the ſoldiers of both armies went into one another's encampment, ſo that the two camps were now in a manner one. Things were carried to ſuch a length, that Afranius's ſon ſent to Cæſar, to deſire he would give his word for his life, and that of his father. The joy was general, they mutually congratulated each other; the one, in that they had eſcaped ſo imminent danger; and the other, in that they had brought to a happy concluſion ſo important an enterprize without ſtriking a blow.

This was the ſituation of affairs, when Afranius and Petreius, being informed thereof, returned to their camp. Afranius came eaſily to a reſolution, being prepared for all events. But Petreius was not wanting

to

to himſelf. He arms his ſlaves, and, joining them to his Spaniſh guard, falls on ſuch of Cæſar's ſoldiers as he found among his own; kills ſome of them, and forces the reſt to make off. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

After this he goes through the whole camp, begging his troops with tears to have pity on him, and Pompey their General; and that they would not deliver them both up to the cruel vengeance of their enemies. Every one upon this flocks to the head-quarters. There Petreius propoſes to the army to bind themſelves by a new oath, not to abandon nor betray their Commanders, nor to act ſeparately, but all in concert for the common good. He himſelf took this oath firſt, and then exacted it of Afranius, afterwards of the Officers, and laſtly of every ſoldier.

Petreius's zeal ſtopped not here, he extended it even to cruelty. He iſſued an order, that all thoſe who had any of Cæſar's ſoldiers in their tents ſhould ſignify it, that they might be put to death in the ſight of the whole army. Some obeyed; but the majority deteſted this bloody order; they carefully hid thoſe who were under their protection, and procured them means to eſcape in the night. However, they all punctually obſerved their new oath. The agreement they had almoſt concluded with Cæſar was forgot, and nothing was now thought of but renewing the war.

It was in Cæſar's power to have made reprizals, for he had in his camp many of the enemy's officers and ſoldiers. But he was not at all diſpoſed to make uſe of that right, which is often conſidered as legal, but, if cooly examined, is very inhuman. He let them all retire, without putting them in fear. Some of the Tribunes and Centurions choſe to ſtay with him, and take on in his ſervice. He entertained theſe with pleaſure, and always diſtinguiſhed, honoured, and advanced, them.

Petreius found it eaſier to renew the war, than to ſuſtain it. He could neither forage, nor water, without much difficulty and danger. Proviſions were

ſcarce

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. ſcarce in his camp, and the Spaniards deſerted in ſhoals. He had no other reſource left than to get to ſome fortreſs, under whoſe walls he might ſhelter himſelf. He was between Tarragone and Lerida, and was ſome time before he determined, towards which of thoſe cities he ſhould march. The laſt being neareſt, he reſolved to return there.

But the difficulty was how to get at it. Cæſar's cavalry continually harraſſed his flying troops. In the plains, the rear, by making head from time to time againſt it, gave the van means of advancing ſomewhat. When they fell in with an eminence, they had more advantage; becauſe thoſe who were firſt could cover them behind. But, when they were to deſcend, it was exactly the contrary. Then the legions turned upon the adverſary's cavalry, and endeavoured to drive them back a good way, after which they ran down the valley precipitately, until they came to the oppoſite eminence. The infantry did all; for their cavalry was ſo terrified, that, far from being of any ſervice, they were forced to place it in the center, to ſecure it.

It is eaſy to perceive, that ſo painful, and interrupted, a march, could not be expeditious. When Afranius and Petreius had advanced four miles, they halted on an eminence, and drew a line before them, as it were to encamp; but did not unload their beaſts of burthen. Cæſar was hereby deceived; he began to eſtabliſh his camp, pitched his tents, and ſent his cavalry to forage. This was what Pompey's Lieutenants wanted. Suddenly therefore, towards noon, they reſume their march briſkly, hoping to be rid of that formidable cavalry, which ſo much incommoded them. But Cæſar ſets out immediately with his legions, leaving a few cohorts to guard the baggage, and ſends orders to his cavalry to return with all diligence. The cavalry returned with all diligence, and, having overtook the enemy before the cloſe of day, attacked them ſo vigorouſly, that they were forced to encamp where

where they then were, far from any water, and on very diſadvantageous ground. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Cæſar could have given a good account of this army, if he had attacked them. But he purſued his old plan, intending to compel the enemy to ſurrender, by harraſſing them, and cutting them off from all neceſſaries. They were in the worſt of ſituations. As their camp was bad, they endeavoured to change it. But the farther they extended, in order to better their poſition, the farther they went from water: and to avoid one inconvenience fell into another. The firſt night no body went out of the camp for water, and the next day the whole army was obliged to do it in order of battle, ſo that they could not forage that day. Want, and the deſire of marching with leſs difficulty, ſoon conſtrained them to kill all the beaſts of burthen.

Cæſar ſtrangely augmented their confuſion by beginning to draw lines round their camp, to incloſe them. He had already worked hard on them for two days, and made a conſiderable progreſs; when Afranius and Petreius, ſenſible of the conſequences, drew all their forces out of the camp, and formed them in order of battle. Cæſar preſently called in his workmen, and put his army in a condition to receive them, if they attacked him; but would not enter the firſt into action. Pompey's Lieutenants, ſeeing him in ſo good order, kept quiet; and in the evening both armies retired, without coming to blows. The next day, which was the fourth from the ſetting about the lines, Cæſar prepared to finiſh them. Afranius and Petreius endeavoured, as their laſt reſource, to find a fordable place in the Segre. But their vigilant adverſary ſent immediately over the river his light-armed Germans, and a good part of his cavalry, and poſted on the banks at a ſmall diſtance from one another many good corps-de-gardes.

At laſt Pompey's Lieutenants, having no hope left, and being in want of every thing, wood, forage, water, corn, were forced to do as Cæſar deſired. Afranius aſked for an interview; and that it might be, if poſſible,

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. poſſible, in ſome place out of the ſight of the ſoldiers. Cæſar conſented to the interview, but not under the circumſtance Afranius deſired. This laſt was all ſubmiſſion, and, having given his ſon for an hoſtage, went to the place appointed by the Victor. The converſation was at the head of the two armies, who could hear all that paſſed on both ſides.

Afranius ſpoke with great humility. He excuſed himſelf on account of the fidelity he owed to Pompey his General, acknowledged himſelf vanquiſhed, and conjured Cæſar very ſubmiſſively, not to make a rigorous uſe of his victory, but to ſpare the lives of his unhappy countrymen.

Cæſar, though willing to exert his clemency, had yet a mind to prove Afranius in the wrong. He told him, that he and his collegue were only to blame, and the only enemies to peace; while the General they fought againſt, and the two armies, had done all they could to attain it. He added a ſhort harangue in favour of his cauſe, and made a relation of all the pretended injuries he had received. He concluded, by ordering Afranius to diſband his army. "I will not, "ſays he, take from you your ſoldiers and enliſt them, "as I could eaſily do, but I will prevent your employ-"ing them againſt me. Therefore leave theſe pro-"vinces, and diſband your forces: in which caſe no "body ſhall have reaſon to complain of my treatment. "This is my final reſolution, and the only condition I "inſiſt on."

This diſcourſe of Cæſar was very agreeable to Afranius's ſoldiers; who, inſtead of being puniſhed, as they feared, were in ſome ſort rewarded by the diſcharge their Conqueror procured them. They plainly ſhewed their ſatisfaction. For, while the place and time of their diſmiſſion were debating, they ſignified by their geſtures and cries, that they deſired to be diſbanded immediately. After ſome diſcuſſion of that article by Cæſar and Afranius, it was regulated, that thoſe who had houſes or poſſeſſions in Spain, who made near a third of the army, ſhould be diſcharged on

on the ſpot; and the reſt near the Var, a little river that parts Gaul from Italy. Cæſar on his ſide declared, that he would hurt no body, nor force any one to take on in his ſervice. He even promiſed to find them in corn until they got to the Var. And laſtly, he carried his generoſity ſo far, as to reſtore to them all they had loſt in the war, that could be known again; indemnifying himſelf his own ſoldiers, who hereby loſt part of their booty. By this conduct he acquired the friendſhip and confidence of the ſoldiers of the other party to ſuch a degree, that from that time, during the two days that were ſpent in giving diſcharges to thoſe who were to be forthwith diſbanded, he was the arbiter of all the diſputes they had, either among themſelves, or with their Commanders. Theſe two days expired, thoſe who were to go to the Var ſet out in this order. Two of Cæſar's legions marched at the head, the others in the rear, and the vanquiſhed troops in the middle. Q. Fuſius Calenus, one of Cæſar's Lieutenants, preſided over the march. When they were come to the preſcribed place, Afranius's ſoldiers were diſbanded, their Chiefs and principal Officers went away to Pompey, and a great number of the ſoldiers entered into freſh engagements with Cæſar, and took on voluntarily in the ſervice of a General, who knew ſo well how to conquer, and to make uſe of his victory. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

This campaign of Cæſar, and the proofs he gave in it of his extraordinary ſkill in military affairs, and the art of chooſing his ground, have gained the deſerved applauſe of all ages; and in theſe latter times, as I have elſewhere obſerved, the approbation of the great Condé has put the ſeal to this univerſal admiration. It is not proper for me to dwell on a ſubject ſo much above my knowledge. But the magnanimity of his proceedings, that fund of clemency, which even the injuſtice and cruelty of his adverſaries could not exhauſt; his noble confidence of ſucceſs, and generous refuſal to increaſe his forces, by any other way than the free conſent of thoſe who liſted under him;

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. him; theſe are virtues, whoſe worth I am extremely ſenſible of, and which I am only ſorry to ſee employed to ſo bad a purpoſe as that of enſlaving his country.

Cæſ. de B. Civ. ii. 17. Many preſſing reaſons recalled Cæſar to Rome. But Varro, a Lieutenant of Pompey, having under him two legions and thirty cohorts of auxiliaries, yet kept Ulterior Spain; and it was a maxim with Cæſar, to think he had done nothing, while any thing remained to be done. He therefore ſent there in haſte Q. Caſſius, Tribune of the People, with two legions, whom he preſently followed with ſix hundred horſe. But he found no employment for theſe forces. He had little to do, beſides ſhewing himſelf, to reduce that province, which had been long well-affected to him; as he had been Quæſtor there, and had afterwards governed it as Proprætor. So that as ſoon as his troops appeared, and it was known that he was there, the whole country roſe in his favour. At the ſame time, one of Varro's legions, which had been raiſed in the province, deſerted under his eyes, and retired to Hiſpalis, which town had declared for Cæſar. Pompey's Lieutenant did not attempt a vain reſiſtance. He delivered the legion that kept with him to the perſon Cæſar ſent to take the command of it, went himſelf to him at Corduba, and brought with him what money he had in his hands, and an inventory of the ſtores and ſhipping.

Seville.

Cæſar had nothing now to do at Corduba, where he had ſummoned a General Aſſembly, but to receive the ſubmiſſions of the nations, and the congratulations of all the Roman Knights and Citizens in Bœotica. He rewarded thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his favour; and the city of Cadiz was honoured, on that occaſion, with the freedom of Rome: on thoſe he was neceſſitated to puniſh, he only impoſed pecuniary mulcts. After which, leaving Q. Caſſius, with four legions, to command in his abſence, he embarked on Varro's ſhips, and landed at Tarragone, where he received the deputations of the nations of almoſt

Liv. Epit. 110.

almoſt all Citerior Spain. From thence he went by land to Narbonne, and thence to his camp before Marſeille; which was reduced to the laſt extremity, and only waited for his coming to ſurrender. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

The Marſeillians had defended themſelves with extraordinary courage. They had twice tried their fortune in a ſea-fight; once with their own force, and afterwards with a reinforcement of ſeventeen ſhips, ſent them by Pompey, under the command of L. Naſidius. They were both times worſted by D. Brutus, Commander of the ſmall fleet that Cæſar had ſtationed before their port. They did not, however, fail either through want of courage, or ſkill: and even might have ſucceeded in the ſecond action, had Naſidius manifeſted a reſolution equal to theirs. But he was not equally intereſted in the defence of Marſeille; and, when the fight grew warm, bore away, and baſely deſerted his allies. Cæſ. de B. C. i. 56. & ii. 1.

That which gave D. Brutus the ſuperiority was the incredible valour of his ſoldiers, who had been carefully ſelected from among the ſtouteſt men of every legion: and who, grappling with the enemy's ſhips, boarded them ſuddenly, and rendered uſeleſs to the Marſeillians their ſuperior ſkill in the conſtruction and management of their ſhips. We may recollect the ſtory I told elſewhere of a ſoldier, who, having loſt his right-hand, fought with his left, until the adverſary ſhip was forced and took. The inhabitants of Marſeille had not only ſuffered by ſea, but had been alſo vigorouſly attacked by land. Trebonius, to whoſe care Cæſar had entruſted the ſiege, conſtructed with infinite labour machines of all ſorts, made frequent aſſaults, repulſed all the ſallies, and, at laſt, after ſome months made a breach in the wall. Part of a tower, being undermined, fell, and the reſt of it was in danger: which, if the Romans demoliſhed, they opened to themſelves a way into the town in ſpite of all oppoſition. In this extremity the beſieged threw themſelves on the mercy of the Victors. They come out of the gates in crouds in the manner of ſuppliants, extend-

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. extending their hands towards the Roman camp. At ſight of them, the attack ceaſes; and the Marſeillians advance to the commanding Officers, proſtrate themſelves before them, and beg of them to ſtay for Cæſar's arrival. They acknowledge they can no longer make any defence; and conſequently, that Cæſar would be always maſter of their fate. They repreſent with tears, that, if the remainder of the tower was thrown down, and the breach thereby enlarged, it would be impoſſible to reſtrain the ardor of the ſoldiers, and their city would be inevitably pillaged, ſacked, and utterly deſtroyed. All this was delivered in an affecting manner, by men, whom neceſſity alone would have made eloquent, if they had not added thereto the knowledge of polite literature, which had been always cultivated at Marſeille with care and ſucceſs.

Trebonius had inſtructions from Cæſar agreeable to what the inhabitants of Marſeille deſired. That great man, full of humanity, and love for learning, in which he himſelf excelled, thought he ſhould ſully his glory, by deſtroying ſo famous a city, which was the habitation of the Gauliſh muſes, and the centre of Gauliſh politeneſs. He had therefore ſtrongly recommended to his Lieutenant not to ſuffer the town to be ſtormed, leſt the exaſperated ſoldiers ſhould put to the ſword, as they threatened, all who were able to bear arms. Trebonius followed his orders; yielded to the intreaties of the ſuppliants, and conſented to a ſort of truce; to the great diſcontent of his ſoldiers, who complained, that they were deprived of the fruit of their conqueſt, and hindered from taking a town that could make no defence.

The truce, as it is uſual, was productive of negligence and ſecurity. The Romans, forgetting that ſtrict diſcipline is never more neceſſary than when an accommodation with an enemy is on foot, as that is the time for ſurprize and treachery, were not at all on their guard, nor apprehended any danger. So fine an opportunity tempted the Marſeillians, and made them

them guilty, if we are to take Cæſar's account literally, of an inexcuſable perfidy. Obſerving one day, that the wind was high, and blew full on the Roman machines, they on a ſudden ſet them on fire; and, the wind making it impoſſible for the beſiegers to extinguiſh it, thoſe works were in an inſtant conſumed that had coſt ſo much time and labour. This advantage rejoiced the Marſeillians, but was of little real ſervice to them. The Roman ſoldiers, animated by revenge, worked on the reconſtruction of theſe machines with ſuch diligence, that, in a few days, all things were reſtored to their priſtine condition, and the beſieged were reduced to a reiteration of their ſubmiſſion and intreaties. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Cæſar's narration is imperfect in this place. For although the thread of the ſtory gives room to believe, that it was to Trebonius that theſe freſh ſupplications of the Marſeillians were preſented; yet he does not ſay ſo expreſsly. And indeed, if the ſoldiers ſhewed their indignation at the firſt truce granted the beſieged; how would they, irritated, as they muſt be, anew by this horrible treachery, have ſuffered the conceſſion of a ſecond? On the other ſide, when, after an interruption of ſome pages, Cæſar reſumes the relation of the ſiege of Marſeille, he does not ſay neither, that its inhabitants waited for his coming, to ſurrender. He does not ſay, that he reproached them, as was natural, with their infidelity and perjury. They are received as if they had not forfeited all pretenſions to mercy. If to theſe conſiderations we add alſo his known hatred to thoſe of Marſeille, of which there are evident marks in his Commentaries, and which is alſo atteſted by Cicero; may we not be allowed to doubt of what their enemy reports to their diſadvantage; and to clear the inhabitants of that celebrated city from the opprobrium of a perfidy equally criminal and ſenſeleſs in their then circumſtances? Cæſ. de B. Civ. II. 22. Cic. Phil. II. 94. & VIII. 19.

But, if we may ſuſpect that Cæſar's hatred prevailed on him, either to miſ-report facts, or, at leaſt,

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. to truſt too lightly to the memories of thoſe who conducted the ſiege in his abſence; that hatred, however, was void of cruelty. He ſpared the Marſeillians from being plundered: he left their walls and edifices ſtanding; he did them no hurt in their perſons; he deprived them not of their liberty. But he diſarmed them, ſeized on all their ſhips, and took all the money out of the public Treaſury. Domitius Ahenobarbus eſcaped by ſea, before the ſurrender of the town; and went into Greece to join Pompey. Cæſar, having left two legions in Marſeille, ſet out for Italy. Pompey and the Senate in his camp, to reward in what manner they were able, the fidelity of the Marſeillians, gave the rights and privileges of a free city to Phocæa, in Ionia, which was the mother-town of Marſeille.

Dio.

Wherever Cæſar went in perſon, fortune faithfully accompanied him; or rather the ſuperiority of his genius ever rendered him victorious. His Lieutenants were not always equally ſucceſsful; and his party ſuffered this year two conſiderable checks; one in Illyricum, and the other in Africa.

Lucan. l. IV. Flor. IV. 2. Appian. Dio. Cæſ. de B. Civ. III. 67.

We have but few particulars of that in Illyricum, becauſe Cæſar's account of it is loſt. We only know, that Dolobella and C. Antonius, who commanded for him on that coaſt, were vanquiſhed by M. Octavius and Scribonius Libo, Pompey's Lieutenants, who had a ſuperior naval force; and that C. Antonius was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner with fifteen cohorts. An expreſſion of Cæſar, occaſionally, informs us, that there was treaſon in the caſe; and that one of his braveſt Officers, who was probably that Pulfio *, of whom we have related a memorable action in the Gauliſh war, diſhonoured himſelf here by a baſe perfidy againſt his General, and occaſioned the loſs of the army.

* At leaſt, there is but the difference of one letter in the name. He is called T. Pulfio in the 5th book of the Gauliſh War; and T. Pulcio in the 3d book of the Civil War.

One

One cohort, on the contrary, gave proof of an almoſt incredible, and unexampled, fidelity. Some troops, who eſcaped from C. Antonius's defeat, built, to croſs the ſea with, three floats, ſuſtained on each ſide by great empty caſks, ſo diſpoſed as to hide the oars; ſo that theſe rafts advanced without ſhewing what worked them. In the middle was a tower. But, among Pompey's marines, were ſome of the old pirates, whom he formerly overcame, who were well-acquainted with all the artifices in uſe in ſea wars. Theſe faſtened to the rocks, near thoſe places the rafts were to paſs through, twiſted chains like nets, that were covered by the water. Two of the rafts avoided them; the third was taken in them. In it were ſome ſoldiers of Opitergium, a Venetian city, beyond the Po. Theſe brave men defended themſelves till night with invincible courage. But, after many fruitleſs efforts to diſengage themſelves, finding it impoſſible to get off, they choſe to turn their ſwords againſt one another, and mutually kill themſelves to the laſt man rather than ſurrender to the enemy.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Oderzo.

The cauſe of Cæſar's loſs in Africa was Curio's raſhneſs. No leſs audacious in the field, than he had been in domeſtic diſſenſions and his conteſts with the Senate; he ſet out from Sicily, which Cato abandoned to him, taking with him but two legions, out of four that Cæſar had appointed him, and five hundred horſe. He greatly deſpiſed the enemy he was going againſt in Africa; and he was not in the wrong. This was Attius Varus; who, having been drove by Cæſar from Oſimo, in the beginning of the war, fled directly into the province of Africa, which he had governed ſome years before as Proprætor; hoping, that a people, uſed to obey him, would reſpect his name and orders. He was not miſtaken. He ſucceeded in ſeizing the Government; and raiſed men in that country, whom he formed into two legions. Mean while Tubero, whom the Senate had appointed Governor of that province, came to take poſſeſſion of it. Varus, who was ambitious and covetous, paid

Cæſ. de B. Civ. l. II.

A R. 703. Ant. C. 49. no deference to the Senate's authority; and, as he was maſter of the country and coaſts, repulſed Tubero with ſuch ſeverity, as not even to ſuffer him to ſet aſhore his ſon, who was ſick. The two Tubero's were therefore obliged to return in the ſame ſhip that brought them; and went to Pompey. Such was Varus; inconſiderate, proud, and of ſmall capacity.

But he had a powerful ally in Juba, King of Mauritania and a part of Numidia. This Prince was the ſon of Hiempſal, whoſe dominions Pompey had formerly enlarged, when he warred for Sylla in Africa. Beſides this motive of gratitude which attached Juba to Pompey's party, he had another, from his perſonal hatred to Curio; who, when Tribune of the People, had propoſed a law to confiſcate his kingdom, and reduce it to the form of a Roman province. This hatred, ſeconded by a great force, made Juba a formidable enemy to Curio; or, at leaſt, ſuch a one as he ought to have carefully guarded againſt, by obſerving a circumſpect, prudent, conduct. But this was what the young warrior was not capable of: naturally preſumptuous, and overſet with the ſucceſs he had at his firſt coming.

For he debarked in Africa, without danger or trouble; and, having encamped near the river Bragada, he began by getting the better in a combat of cavalry: in conſequence of which, he permitted his ſoldiers to proclaim him Imperator. He then advanced nearer to Varus, who was encamped under the walls of Utica: and, being informed, that a reinforcement of Numidians was coming from Juba to the enemy, he went to meet them with his cavalry, and was again victorious.

He was not only bold in military actions but ſteady alſo, and wiſe in Council: and it was well for him, conſidering what troops he had under him. They were the legions who had ſerved under Domitius Ahenobarbus, in Corfinium; and had afterwards enliſted with Cæſar. So that it was to be preſumed, that their attachment to their new General was not much

much to be depended on: and, in fact, the night after the laſt engagement, two Captains and twenty-two Soldiers deſerted, and went over to Varus. Theſe run-aways reported, that all their comrades were of the ſame mind, and ready to abandon Curio; that all they wanted was an opportunity, which might be given them, by bringing the two armies in ſight of one another, ſo that they might have ſome converſation together. In this hope, the next day, Varus drew out his forces, and formed them in battalia, at the head of his camp. Curio on his ſide, did the ſame. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

In the army of Attius Varus was Quintilius Varus, who had been Quæſtor to Domitius Ahenobarbus, with whom having been ſhut in Corfinium, made priſoner, and releaſed by Cæſar, he afterwards went into Africa. He was acquainted with the Officers of Curio's legions, the companions of his misfortune. He advanced to them, and eſſayed them by diſcourſe proper to awaken in them the remembrance of the oath they formerly took to Domitius. But none of them ſeemed much affected thereby. Yet, when the army retired, Curio's camp was full of trouble, alarm, ſuſpicion, and miſtruſt.

Curio called a Council of war to deliberate on the ſtate of affairs; and found it divided. Some were for aſſaulting the enemy's camp; pretending, that nothing was ſo proper as action and fighting to drive ſuch thoughts out of the ſoldiers heads, which leiſure and idleneſs bred and entertained. Others, on the contrary, were for retreating immediately, and ſetting out at midnight for a place, which, ever ſince the firſt Scipio Afranius had encamped there, retained the name of Scipio's Camp: a place naturally ſtrong, where they might, at leiſure, revive in their ſoldiers, the ſentiments of fidelity and affection; and from whence, in caſe of neceſſity, they might eaſily return to Sicily. Caſtra Cornelia.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

* Curio condemned both theſe opinions; blaming one for want, and the other for exceſs of courage; ſince the firſt adviſed an ignominious flight, and the others a raſh attack. His diſcourſe is related by Cæſar, probably, after ſome original memoirs; and, as Curio was accounted one of the greateſt Orators of his age, I fancy I ſhall pleaſe the reader of taſte, by laying before him this harangue, and that he afterwards made to the ſoldiers; which are the only pieces we have of him.

† "What reaſon," ſays he, "have we to hope to "force a camp, which ſituation and art render im- "pregnable? And, what loſs may we not ſuſtain, if "we are repulſed? Do not you know, that ſucceſs "inſures to Generals the eſteem of their troops; and "that, on the contrary, diſgraces make them con- "temptible and odious? As to changing our camp, "that is the worſt thing we can do. Beſides the ig- "nominy of a precipitate flight, and a cowardly de- "ſpair diſcreditable to our arms, we ſhall, by that

* Curio utrumque improbans conſilium, quantum alteri ſententiæ deeſſet animi, tantum alteri ſupereſſe dicebat: hos turpiſſimæ fugæ rationem habere, illos iniquo etiam loco dimicandum putare. Cæs. de B. Civ. II. Q. 31.

† Qua enim, inquit, fiducia, & opere & natura loci munitiſſima caſtra expugnari poſſe ſperamus? aut vero quid proficimus, ſi acepto magno detrimento ab oppugnatione caſtrorum diſcedimus? quaſi non & felicitas rerum geſtarum, exercitus benevolentiam imperatoribus, & res adverſæ odia concilient. Caſtrorum autem mutatio quid habet, niſi turpem fugam, & deſperationem omnium, & alienationem exercitus? Nam neque pudentes ſuſpicari oportet ſibi parum credi, neque improbos ſcire ſe timeri; quod illis licentiam timor augeat noſter, his ſtudia diminuat. Quod ſi jam hæc explorata habemus, quæ de exercitus alienatione dicuntur (quæ quidem ego aut omnino falſa, aut certe minora opinione eſſe confido) quanto hæc diſſimulare & occultare, quam per nos confirmari præſtat? An non, uti corporis vulnera, ita exercitus incommoda ſunt tegenda, ne ſpem adverſariis augeamus? At etiam ut media nocte proficiſcamur addunt: quo majorem, credo, licentiam habeant qui peccare conentur. Namque hujuſmodi res, aut pudore, aut metu tenentur, quibus rebus nox maxime adverſaria eſt. Quare neque tanti ſum animi, ut ſine ſpe caſtra oppugnanda cenſeam; neque tanti timoris, ut ipſe deficiam. Atque omnia prius experienda arbitror; magnaque * ex parte jam me una vobiſcum de re judicium facturum confido.

* Theſe laſt words are obſcure. I have given them that ſenſe which ſeems to me moſt agreeable to circumſtances.

"ſtep-

" ſtep, even alienate the minds of our ſoldiers. For A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.
" the well-affected ought not to know that we diſtruſt
" them, nor the ill-affected, that we fear them; be-
" cauſe our apprehenſions will augment the audacity
" of the laſt, and weaken the attachment of the others.
" As for me, I am ſatisfied, that what we have been
" told of the diſaffection of the troops, is either falſe,
" or exaggerated. But, ſuppoſing it true, ought we
" to expoſe ourſelves our own weakneſs? Ought we
" not, on the contrary, to conceal it, that it may not
" give ſpirits to the enemy? It is adviſed too, to
" march away at midnight; perhaps, that ſuch as
" are ill-diſpoſed may not want an opportunity of
" executing their bad deſigns. For ſhame and fear
" chiefly detain thoſe who want to deſert; but night
" will remove this double objection. Upon the
" whole, I own I am not ſtout enough to attack a
" camp, without the leaſt chance for ſucceſs; and
" yet too ſtout to be wanting to myſelf; and there-
" fore am of opinion that we ought to try every thing,
" before we comply with either of the ſchemes pro-
" poſed. I hope, experience will ſoon ſatisfy you,
" that I think juſtly on the preſent occaſion."

After Curio had diſmiſſed the Council of war, he aſſembled the army; to whom he made a very fine and dexterous harangue: but I ſhall abridge this diſcourſe, as it is very long. He begins by diſplaying, on one ſide, the importance of the ſervice they did Cæſar, in coming over to him, and ſetting an example that drew in all Italy; and, on the other, the marks of confidence Cæſar had given them. He adds *, " There are, I am told, thoſe who perſuade
" you to abandon us. Equally enemies to us both;
" what can they deſire, more than at once to ruin us,
" and make you guilty of the moſt horrid perjury?

* Adſunt qui vos hortentur, ut à nobis deſciſcatis. Quid enim eſt illis optatius, quam uno tempore & nos circumvenire, & vos nefario ſcelere obſtringere? aut quid irati gravius de vobis ſentire poſſunt, quam ut eos prodatis, qui ſe vobis omnia debere judicant; in eorum poteſtatem veniatis, qui ſe per vos periſſe exiſtimant?

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. "Their revenge on you will doubtleſs be ſatisfied, "if they ſucceed in perſuading you to betray Com- "manders, who own they owe every thing to you; "and to put yourſelves in the power of thoſe who "conſider you as the authors of their ruin."

He then informs them of Cæſar's late glorious victory in Spain, which he had totally ſubdued in forty days; and makes this inference: * "Do you think, "that a party, which could not make head againſt "us with its entire force, can reſiſt us, now that is "ruined? And you, who eſpouſed Cæſar's cauſe, "while ſucceſs was yet dubious; by what infatuation, "now that victory has declared for him, can you go "over to the vanquiſhed faction, at the very time "that you ſhould reap the fruits of your ſervices?"

He ſpeaks with no leſs emphaſis of his own ſucceſs, and of the firſt advantages gained over Varus; after which he concludes, in theſe words: † "It is then "this glorious fortune, and ſuch Generals as Cæſar "and I, that you choſe to renounce, to embrace a "party in which the diſgrace at Corfinium, the flight "out of Italy, the loſs of Spain, the diſadvantages "already received in the African war, plainly declare "there is nothing to be expected but ſhame and miſ- "fortune. As for me, I never took any other title "than of Cæſar's Soldier. You have been pleaſed to "beſtow on me that of Imperator. If you repent of "what you have done, take it again; and reſtore me "my own; that it may not be ſaid, that you did me "honour at firſt, only to diſgrace me the more after- "wards."

This harangue had all the effect Curio could deſire. While he was yet ſpeaking, he was often in-

* An qui incolumes reſiſtere non potuerunt, perditi reſiſtant? Vos autem incerta victoria Cæſarem ſecuti, dijudicata jam belli fortuna, victum ſequimini, quum veſtri officii præmia percipere debeatis?

† Hac vos fortuna atque his ducibus repudiatis, Corfinienſem ignominiam, an Italiæ fugam, an Hiſpaniarum deditionem, an Africi belli præjudicia ſequimini? Equidem me Cæſaris militem dici volui. Vos me Imperatoris nomine appellaviſtis. Cujus ſi vos pœnitet, veſtrum vobis beneficium remitto: mihi meum reſtituito nomen, ne ad contumeliam honorem dediſſe videamini.

terrupted

terrupted by the clamours of the ſoldiery, who bore very impatiently the ſuſpicion of diſloyalty: and, when he had concluded, they all exhorted him to take courage, and not be afraid to engage the enemy, but to put them to the proof. Curio, well pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his reſolution and eloquence, offered battle the next day, and the enemy, thinking it improper to decline it, came alſo out of his camp. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

Between the two armies was a valley, the deſcent into which was very ſteep. Varus having ſent into this valley his cavalry and great part of his light-armed troops, Curio alſo detached his cavalry and two cohorts, whoſe firſt ſhock put the enemy's horſe to flight; ſo that their light-armed troops were cut to pieces in Varus's ſight, without receiving any aſſiſtance from him, and without being able to make any reſiſtance.

Curius had brought with him out of Sicily Caninius Rebilus, a Lieutenant of Cæſar, of great experience in military affairs. This old Officer comes up to him; "The enemy, ſays he, is intimidated, make the "proper advantage of it." Curio immediately puts himſelf at the head of his legions, and goes to the attack by ſo difficult and ſteep a way, that the firſt ranks could not get up without the aſſiſtance of thoſe behind. Varus's army, inſtead of making uſe of their advantageous ſituation, is panic-ſtruck, diſordered, and put to flight; nobody aims at more than regaining the camp.

In this flight Varus had a narrow eſcape. For, hearing ſomebody call frequently after him, he ſtopped; thinking it was one of his people, who had ſomething to ſay to him. But the perſon that called him, who was a Captain in the other army (named Fabius) immediately levelled a blow with his ſword at his ſhoulder, which Varus had juſt time to parry with his buckler. Fabius was killed on the ſpot by thoſe about him.

He was the only man Curio loſt in this engagement. On Varus's ſide Cæſar's Commentaries reckon

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A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. ſix hundred ſlain, and a thouſand wounded. And ſo great was the fright of theſe troops, that, of thoſe who periſhed, more were ſtifled at the gates of the camp, than put to the ſword by the enemy. The ſame panic followed them into their intrenchments, though Curio had retired: and as, the wounded being to be ſent into Utica, many counterfeited hurts for a pretence to go there; Varus found himſelf neceſſitated to retire into the town with his whole army, and abandon the camp. The next day Curio ſat down before the city.

Utica was a trading town, which had for a long time ſeen nothing of war. The inhabitants, who had many obligations to Cæſar, were entirely devoted to him. The Roman citizens, who were very numerous, had various intereſts and different ways of thinking. The terror was univerſal in conſequence of the late ill ſucceſs. And a ſurrender was publickly talked of, and Varus was importuned not to hazard every thing by his obſtinacy. But this diſpoſition was changed by the arrival of a courier from Juba, with advice that he was coming with a great force to the ſuccour of Varus and Utica.

Curio had alſo ſuch intelligence. But elate with ſucceſs, and the proſperity of Cæſar's arms in Spain, he knew not how to believe that the King of Mauritania durſt come and attack him. Yet he could not but give credit to it at laſt, when Juba was advanced within twenty-five miles of Utica. He then prudently retreated to the camp of Scipio, that I have took notice of. This place was very advantageous, and could command all ſorts of conveniencies; wood, corn, water, ſalt, every thing, was within reach; and the vicinity of the ſea gave him an opportunity of being eaſily joined by the two legions he left in Sicily, which he ſent for on this occaſion. He determined then to take the advantage of this poſt, and to protract the war.

But he was not naturally prudent, and could not perſevere in that wiſe reſolution. Having received a

piece

piece of falſe intelligence by ſome deſerters from the town; who, ſuborned, perhaps, by the enemy, told him that Juba had been obliged to return to defend his frontiers againſt ſome of his neighbours; and had left but a ſmall force with Sabura his General, who was to go to Utica in his ſtead; Curio reſumed his firſt plan, and formed the vain, raſh, deſign of going to meet the Numidians, and giving them battle. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

What gave ſome colour to the falſe report that deceived him, was, that Sabura had advanced with a detachment, that was not very conſiderable, to the river Bragada; but the King followed him with the reſt of the army at ſix miles diſtance. Curio, as ſoon as it was night, ſent his cavalry to inſult Sabura's camp. His horſe eaſily put the Numidians into confuſion, who knew not how to fortify a camp; ſlew many of them, and returned with ſome priſoners to their General.

Curio had marched with the greateſt part of his forces three hours before day, and had advanced ſix miles when he met his cavalry. He inquires of the priſoners, who commanded in their camp. They tell him Sabura. On receiving this anſwer, without further examination, without entering into particulars, he takes the information of the priſoners for a full confirmation of the intelligence of the deſerters from Utica. He communicates it to his army, and exhorts them to haſten, not to a fight, but to a victory. The ardour of his troops equalled his own. Thus he continued his march precipitately, ordering his cavalry to follow him. But that was in no condition to obey him, being greatly fatigued, with having marched, or fought, all night: the troopers, on their way, ſtopped ſome in one place, ſome in another; and only two hundred of them were able to keep up with the infantry. The Numidians ſhewed as much prudence, as the Romans impetuoſity. Sabura immediately gave notice to his maſter of the night-engagement; and Juba, not doubting but Curio would preſently come up to complete the victory began by his cavalry, ſent

to

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. to his General two thouſand Spaniſh and Gauliſh horſe of his guard, and a ſelect body of infantry. He himſelf prepared to follow them, but more ſlowly, with the reſt of his army and forty elephants.

Sabura, ſeeing Curio approach, formed his troops in order of battle; and advanced a detachment towards the enemy, as it were to ſkirmiſh; with orders to run away, and ſhew all the ſigns of terror and fright. Curio ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by this common artifice. He quitted the eminences he was on, and deſcended into the plain; made more confident than ever by the flight of the Numidians, not conſidering that he was going to engage with infantry, that were fatigued by a march of ſixteen miles, and were unſupported by cavalry.

The Numidian General took advantage of his adverſary's imprudence. As he knew his infantry was no match for that of the Romans, he did not ſuffer it to engage, but kept it in good order at ſome diſtance. His cavalry was good and numerous; with that he acted; ordering it to extend itſelf, and ſurround the legions. This order was well executed, and procured him the victory, ſpite of all the efforts of the Romans. Their two hundred horſe did wonders wherever they charged; but their wearineſs hindered them from purſuing thoſe they broke. The infantry, who kept their ground, were ruined. If any cohort advanced out of the line, the active, alert, enemy diſperſed, and, having took a circuit, returned to the attack on another ſide. Thus, all the loſs fell on the Romans; and the Numidians, on the contrary, were continually reinforced from Juba's army, which was not far off. Curio was now ſenſible of his error, and endeavoured to regain the eminences. But Sabura's cavalry prevented him, and deprived him of that laſt reſource.

Affairs being deſperate, Cn. Domitius, General of the horſe, thought at leaſt he ought to ſave the General. He comes to Curio, and propoſes to him to retire into the camp, where were five cohorts, promiſing

niſing not to leave him. "No, ſays Curio, I will A.R. 703. Ant. C. 49.
"never appear before Cæſar, after having loſt the "army he intruſted me with." He continued therefore to fight, until ſlain by the enemy. All the foot were cut to pieces to a man. Of the two hundred horſe, who were in the action, very few eſcaped. Thoſe that ſtopped on the way returned to the camp.

The Quæſtor, M. Rufus, had ſtaid there, and endeavoured to revive the drooping courage of the ſoldiers. They demanded clamorouſly to be carried back into Sicily. He was forced to promiſe it, and to prepare for the embarkation. But ſuch was the terror by ſea and land, that nothing could be done with order and tranquillity, ſo that few of them embarked and got to Sicily. The reſt, a great majority, ſent their Captains to Varus, and ſurrendered, on a promiſe of their lives. Juba, who came ſoon after to Utica, did not think himſelf bound by the word of the Roman General; and, ſpite of all repreſentations, inhumanly butchered moſt of thoſe who had ſurrendered, and ſent the reſt priſoners into his dominions.

Thus totally periſhed that unfortunate army, by the bad conduct of its General: who made himſelf an end ſuitable to his miſconduct, but unworthy of his parts. Deſcended from an illuſtrious houſe, born with a ſublime genius and generous courage; he might, by honourable ſteps, have attained to the higheſt preferments. But being debauched in his youth, and extravagantly ambitious, when old enough to ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs; being obſervant of no rules but his paſſions, nor duty but his intereſt, and diſregardful of all laws and manners; he only ſerved to ſhew by his example, that the greateſt gifts of nature become uſeleſs, and even fatal, to thoſe who join not with them wiſdom and moderation. His memory was ſo odious, that the antient Commentator on Virgil has applied to him this verſe, which is in the enumeration of the flagitious dead that are puniſhed in Tartarus: *Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem impoſuit.* "This man ſold his Country, and brought

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. brought in an imperious Tyrant." I do not ſay that the Poet had him in his thoughts, but the Commentator's remark ſhews what was the general opinion concerning Curio. Cœlius will give ſoon a ſimilar example.

Juba was arrogant even to inſolence. This appears by the little regard he ſhewed to the compoſition granted by Varus to Curio's ſoldiers. He behaved in the ſame manner in every thing elſe. Utica was a city of the Roman Empire. He acted, notwithſtanding, there as maſter, while he ſtaid; and gave ſuch orders, and made ſuch regulations, as he thought proper; after which he returned into his kingdom. Africa from this time continued quiet, until ſome of the remains of the Pharſalian rout, having got together again there, raiſed freſh troubles.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTY-FOURTH.

CÆSAR's firſt Dictatorſhip, and ſecond Conſulſhip. He goes into Greece to war with Pompey. Battle of Pharſalia. Flight, and death, of Pompey. Years of Rome 703, 704.

SECT. I.

Cæſar named Dictator by Lepidus, Prætor of the city. Cæſar's ninth legion mutinies. His reſolute, haughty, behaviour, by which he makes the mutineers return to their duty. Pride and indecency of Anthony's conduct. Cæſar comes to Rome, takes poſſeſſion of the Dictatorſhip, cauſes himſelf to be elected Conſul, and preſides at the election of the other Magiſtrates. Regulation in favour of debtors. Recall of exiles. The children of proſcribed perſons reſtored to the capacity of ſerving public offices. Motions of Cælius and Milo. Their death. Pompey's preparations; his land-army. Pompey encourages military exerciſes by his own example. General zeal and affection for Pompey's cauſe. Aſſembly of the Senate held by the Conſuls at Theſſalonica. Pompey

pey declared ſole Chief. Pompey's ſecurity as to Cæſar's paſſage into Greece. Cæſar's eagerneſs to get there. He goes into Greece with twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers, and ſix hundred horſe. He diſpatches Vibullius to Pompey, with propoſals for an accommodation. He makes himſelf maſter of almoſt all Epirus. Pompey comes up time enough to ſave Dyrrachium, and encamps over-againſt his adverſary, with the river Apſus between them. Pompey's fleet hinders the troops Cæſar had left in Italy from croſſing the ſea. Bibulus's death. Pompey's harſh anſwer to Vibullius. New advances of Cæſar, always rejected. Cæſar's forces at Brundu-ſium are dilatory in joining him. He goes himſelf to fetch them. Famous ſpeech of Cæſar to the maſter of the bark. Ardour of Cæſar's ſoldiers. On receiving new orders, Anthony paſſes from Italy into Greece with four legions. Metellus Scipio brings to Pompey the Syrian legions. Tyrannical behaviour of that Procenſul. Cæſar ſends three detachments from his army into Ætolia, Theſſalia, and Macedonia. Pompey avoids an engagement. Cæſar attempts to incloſe Pompey in lines. Divers actions about the lines. Prodigious valour of one of Cæſar's cohorts, and above all of the Centurion Scæva. Incredible patience of Cæſar's troops, when in want. Fruitleſs negotiation began by Cæſar with Scipio. Pompey's army ſuffers much. Two Gauliſh Officers of Cæſar's party deſert, and acquaint Pompey with the weak parts of his adverſary's lines. Pompey forces Cæſar's lines. Cæſar determines to retreat into Theſſalia. Shame and grief of his ſoldiers. Pompey, adviſed to go over to Italy, chooſes to ſtay in Greece. Cæſar joins Calvinius. His various diſpoſitions according to the different deſigns Pompey might form. Cæſar ſtorms the city of Gamphi in Theſſalia. He ſpares that of Metropolis. He comes to Pharſalia. Pompey follows him.

CÆSAR was informed at Marſeille that he had been appointed Dictator. This nomination was wholly irregular. Suppoſing an occaſion for one, it could only be done by the Conſuls, who were actually in Pompey's camp. Lepidus was bold enough to uſurp this important function of the ſupreme Magiſtrates; and, by virtue of an ordinance of the People, a Prætor (by an unexampled attempt) nominated Dictator. Cæſar, who was no formaliſt, was not offended at the irregularity of his nomination. He wanted ſome title, and ſet out for Rome, to take poſſeſſion of the Dictatorſhip, when a more preſſing affair conſtrained him to turn off to Placentia. A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Cæſ. de B. Civ. 2 & 3. Plut. Pom. & Cæſ. Appian. Civ. l. 2. Dio, l. 41.

The ninth legion, which he had ſent with the others into Italy before him, when arrived at Placentia, mutinied, and demanded its diſmiſſion. The pretence for this ſedition was, that they were worn out by labour, and deſerved to have at laſt ſome reſt. The true reaſon was, that, inſtead of enjoying the licence they promiſed themſelves, Cæſar made them obſerve ſtrict diſcipline, and would not ſuffer them to plunder. * "By what caprice, ſay they in Lucan, while we are compelled to commit the greateſt of all crimes, that of invading our native Country, muſt we be examples of virtue, by the poverty we are forced to be content with." Add, that he, who has made himſelf the head of a faction, has never ſo much command over his troops as a lawful General. The ſame Lucan puts in the mouth of theſe mutineers this reflection: † "Cæſar, ſay they, was our General on the Rhine; but here he is our Accomplice. The crime, that is common to us all, ought to equal us all." Full of theſe notions, and ſenſible of the want Suet. Cæſ. c. 69. Appian. Dio.

* Imus in omne nefas, manibus ferroque nocentes,
Paupertate pii. LUC. v. 270.

† —— Rheni mihi Cæſar in undis
Dux erat, hic ſocius: facinus quos inquinat, æquat.
V. 289, 290.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Cæſar was in of their valour, they made no doubt of obtaining all they durſt demand.

They were much miſtaken. Cæſar, indulgent to his ſoldiers in every other matter, never forgave a breach of obedience; and being ſatisfied that his preſence would over-awe them, and that there was no other way to intimidate a mob, but to ſhew that he did not fear it, he went to them; though their fury ſeemed capable of the greateſt exceſſes, even to the endangering his perſon. He took, however, the precaution to be accompanied by ſome troops; and, having aſſembled the mutineers, treated them with the utmoſt contempt. He told them, that, ſince they demanded their diſmiſſion, they ſhould have it; that he had no occaſion for their ſervice, and that he ſhould never want ſoldiers to ſhare his proſperity and triumphs. But he added, that, before he diſbanded them, he ſhould puniſh their crime, and ſhould decimate the legion.

This ſtile of authority, and menace, annihilated the fierceneſs of the mutineers. They threw themſelves at his feet, begging pardon with tears and lamentations. Cæſar, finding them ſubmiſſive, abated ſomewhat of his ſeverity; but would not, however, let their ſedition go wholly unpuniſhed. He ordered them to deliver up to him an hundred and twenty of the moſt guilty, of whom twelve were appointed by lot for execution. The officers, in concert with him, managed ſo, that the lots fell on thoſe who had been moſt inſolent. There was, however, among the twelve an innocent ſoldier, who proved himſelf abſent when the legion mutinied. Cæſar did him juſtice, and put in his place the Captain who had informed againſt him. The legion was not quit for the puniſhment of theſe twelve offenders. Cæſar had a mind to break it. The ſoldiers were obliged to renew their intreaties, prayers, and tears, to obtain of him leave to continue in his ſervice.

It would have been well had he exacted modeſty and good behaviour from his friends, with the ſame

ſtrictneſs

ſtrictneſs as he exacted obedience from his ſoldiers. But he puniſhed ſedition ſeverely, becauſe it endangered the very foundation of his power and fortune, and he overlooked the diſorders of ſuch as were ſerviceable to him. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 49.

Nothing can exceed the pride and indecency of the proceedings of Anthony, to whom Cæſar left the Government of Italy when he ſet out for Spain. Cic. ad Att. x. & Phil. ii. 58. Plin. viii. 16. Plut. Ant.

Anthony travelled over the whole country, from Brundiſium to Rome, in a car drawn by lions. After him came in an open litter the actreſs Cytheris. The Magiſtrates and moſt reputable Citizens of the municipal towns, that lay in his route, were obliged to go and meet Anthony, and pay their court to his actreſs. Nor were they always admitted when they preſented themſelves, for he often made them wait until he had ſlept off his wine. * "Behold, ſays Cicero, on this ſubject in a letter to Atticus, what ſhame attends our ruin, and to what unworthy victors we ſubmit!"

Cæſar, having quelled, in the manner I have related, the ſedition at Placentia, ordered all his troops to march towards Brundiſium, from whence he intended to tranſport them to Greece; and went himſelf to Rome, to take poſſeſſion of the Dictatorſhip. Though he had cauſed himſelf to be appointed Dictator, which Magiſtrate had regal power, he did not propoſe to keep that place yet. But it was neceſſary to him at that time, either in order to make divers regulations agreeable to his intereſt, or for the particular purpoſe of making himſelf Conſul, and preſiding at the elections of the other Magiſtrates. He began by filling the vacant employments; and in an Aſſembly of the People, at which he preſided as Dictator, was himſelf appointed Conſul for the following year. He takes care to remark in his Commentaries, like a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, that he was then capable of a ſecond Conſulſhip, the interval of ten years being Cæſ. de B. Civ. 3.

* Vide quam turpi leto pereamus. Cic. ad Att. x. 10.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. Dio. Plut. Cæſ. expired. This is a verbal homage he paid to his duty, which his actions continually violated. He gave himſelf for Collegue Servilius Iſauricus, who obtained this dignity baſely. For Piſo, though Cæſar's father-in-law, having exhorted him to ſend Deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; Iſauricus oppoſed the notion, and was rewarded with the Conſulſhip. This alone may prove to the moſt dim-ſighted, that all the advances Cæſar ſeemed to make to a peace were inſincere. The Dictator afterwards appointed the Prætors, the moſt remarkable of whom were Cælius and Trebonius; the Ædiles, Curules, and the Quæſtors.

Cæſ. Dio. Many expected from him a general abolition of debts; or, which is the ſame thing, a permiſſion for all debtors to become bankrupts. This was what well agreed with the circumſtances of many of his partizans. But he did not think proper to proceed ſo far, nor would abſolutely ſap the foundation of credit, which is the cement of all human ſociety. He took a middle courſe, and ordered, that arbiters ſhould be choſe, who ſhould make an eſtimate of the poſſeſſions of all debtors, and ſhould convey them in payment to their creditors at the price they bore before the war. By this regulation the creditors loſt about a fourth of their due. Dio adds, that, as many were ſuſpected of concealing their money to avoid payment, Cæſar made an ordinance, forbidding any body to keep by him above * ſixty thouſand ſeſterces. But the authority of this Hiſtorian is not ſufficient to convince me of a fact of this ſort, about which all other authors are ſilent.

The reſtoration of the exiles had been long expected. Cæſar at length put it into execution in this firſt Dictatorſhip. He palliates as much as poſſible in his Commentaries this odious meaſure, which annihilated paſt judgments, and indicated a total overthrow of the State. But he increaſed his ſtrength thereby, and by

* Between four and five hundred pounds.

this

this extraordinary benefit fixed in his party many perſons of diſtinction, who had it in their power to be very ſerviceable to him. Milo alone was excepted out of this general amneſty. A.R. 703; Ant. C. 49.

Cæſar merited leſs blame in exempting the children of the proſcribed perſons from the puniſhment impoſed by Sylla. By opening to them the door to public employments, which the murtherer of their fathers had ſhut againſt them, he did but follow his conſtant ſyſtem of politics, which was directly oppoſite to that of Sylla: and he put an end to a notorious injuſtice, which nothing but a particular conjuncture and the public quiet could have made ſupportable.

All this buſineſs was done in eleven days; at the end of which Cæſar abdicated the Dictatorſhip; and immediately ſet out for Brundiſium, in order to paſs from thence into Greece. But, before I attend him there, I ſhall relate by anticipation ſome commotions that happened in Italy during his abſence; and which, though inconſiderable in themſelves, are intereſting on account of their authors.

Cælius, who was ſo warm at firſt in Cæſar's cauſe, and who wrote ſo pathetically to Cicero to diſſuade him from joining Pompey, altered on a ſudden his way of thinking. Full of ambition, and the preſumption which great parts give to a fiery young man, he took heinouſly that Cæſar ſhould give Trebonius the Prætorſhip of the City, which was that of the greateſt dignity, without ſubjecting him to draw lots for it. This preference was enough to detach him from a party wherein he thought himſelf deſpiſed. Cæſ. de B. Civ. III. 20. Dio. l. 42.

Aiming therefore at raiſing diſturbances at Rome, he took under his protection the cauſe of the debtors; in which he was perſonally concerned. For, * though there were folly and raſhneſs enough in his projects, yet was there more diſorder in his private affairs. As Trebonius regulated the judgments he gave in this

* Pejor illi res familiaris, quam mens erat. Vell. II. 68.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

affair, by the law lately paſſed by Cæſar, Cælius placed his Tribunal cloſe by that of the Prætor of the city, and declared, that he would receive the appeals of thoſe who ſhould think themſelves aggrieved by him. But Trebonius's prudence and mildneſs were ſuch, that no-body appealed from him. Thus this firſt attempt of Cælius proved unſucceſsful. This did not, however, diſcourage him; and being determined to keep no meaſures, ſince he could by no other means inflame and ſtir up the People, he propoſed two moſt unjuſt and ſeditious laws; the one, to exempt all the tenants in Rome from paying rent; the other, for a general abolition of debts. This bait took with the multitude; and Cælius, at their head, came and attacked Trebonius on his Tribunal, drove him thence, and wounded ſome about him.

It was, doubtleſs, in theſe circumſtances that he wrote Cicero a letter, in a very different ſtile from his preceding ones. In it he appears extremely concerned, that he did not go with him to Pompey's camp. He therein ſhews contempt and horror for thoſe with whom he had united. * "I had rather, ſays he, periſh, than ſee ſuch people. Every body hates us here; there is no order of men, no, nor a ſingle man, that is not a well-wiſher to your cauſe. And, was there not ſome apprehenſion of ſeverity from your party, we had been long ago drove out of Rome." He, in conſequence, invites Pompey to ſend troops into Italy. † "Your party, ſays he to Cicero, is aſleep, and does not ſee our weakneſs, and where we are expoſed. You hazard a battle, in which you are to blame. I do not know your troops; but I know

* Crede mihi; perire ſatius eſt, quam hos videre. Quod ſi timor veſtræ crudelitatis non eſſet, ejecti jampridem hinc eſſemus. Nam hic nunc, ... nec homo, nec ordo quiſquam eſt, niſi Pompeianus. CÆL. ad Cic. 17.

† Vos dormitis, nec adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, & quam ſimus imbecilli. ... Quid iſtic facitis? Prælium expectatis, quod firmiſſimum eſt. Veſtras copias non novi. Noſtri valde depugnare, & facile algere, & eſurire conſuerunt. Idem, ibid.

that

that ours can fight well, and well ſuſtain hunger and cold." A.R. 703. Ant. C. 49.

The expedient Cælius propoſed was very diſtant, very uncertain; nor had he time given him to wait for it. Servilius Iſauricus, who, as Conſul, had the ſupreme authority in the city; having ſent for ſome troops, made a Senatuſconſultum, which interdicted to Cælius the functions of his office. And, in conſequence of it, he cauſed the bills of the laws of that Prætor to be tore down; refuſed him admittance into the Senate; and drove him out of his Tribunal, whence he was going to harangue the People. Cælius reſiſted, for a while, being ſupported by his own obſtinacy, and ſome factious people.

I would not mention here a fact, ill-ſuiting the gravity of an Hiſtorian, did it not ſet in a ſtrong light the pertinacious, inſulting, turn of that Orator. The Conſul having broke to pieces his chair of office, he provided himſelf with another; which he garniſhed with ſtraps of leather, to reproach his enemy with having been formerly whipped by his father. This ſorry jeſt was of no ſervice to him. He was at length obliged to give way to right and force; and deſired permiſſion to quit Rome, pretending to go and juſtify himſelf to Cæſar, who was then in Theſſaly. But he had no ſuch intention. He wanted to go and join Milo, who, in concert with him, was actually ſcouring about Italy, and labouring to excite new commotions. Quintil. VI. 3.

The motive that animated Milo was anger, to find himſelf alone continued in baniſhment by Cæſar, when all other exiles had been recalled. As he was an old friend of Cælius, and they were both (though for different reaſons) diſcontented with Cæſar, they eaſily aſſociated. And Milo had ſome beginnings of military force in the remains of the gladiators, which he bought formerly to entertain the People with in the ſhews he gave them.

Theſe two men, equally audacious and enterprizing, might, if they could have joined, have given ſome

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. trouble to Cæſar's friends in Italy. But Milo's death quite diſconcerted their projects. He had already got about him a number of vagabonds, wretches, and ſlaves, whoſe chains he had broke. With this band having undertook to beſiege Compſa*, in the country of the Hirpinii, he was ſlain by a ſtone from a machine on the walls. Cælius did not long ſurvive him, but was killed alſo near Thurium †, by ſome of Cæſar's Spaniſh and Gauliſh troopers, whom he attempted to debauch and get on his ſide, by promiſes of money.

Milo and Cælius do not appear to have been lamented by any body, though they had both great parts. Milo was the moſt courageous of men, but his valour degenerated into audacity and temerity. It is a ſingularity not at all to his credit, that he ſhould be at once rejected by the two parties that then divided the Republic; and that, when he was baniſhed Rome by Pompey, he ſhould not be entertained by Cæſar.

As to Cælius, he advanced much the glory of eloquence, and is reckoned (as well as Curio) among thoſe Orators who are the ornament of a learned age. His letters to Cicero abound with wit, and unite gaiety and humour with force and elevation. But great vices diſhonoured theſe ſo ineſtimable talents. He was prodigal, debauched, without principles, without conduct, ready to ſacrifice honour and virtue to his advancement, and his advancement itſelf to his reſentment. For he was extravagantly choleric, ſo as to be inſupportable in company. ‡ Of this Seneca has preſerved an extraordinary inſtance. Cælius ſupped one night with a client, who was a moſt pa-

* Conza in the kingdom of Naples.

† The ancient Sybaris, a maritime city on the gulf of Tarento.

‡ Cælium Oratorem fuiſſe iracundiſſimum conſtat. Cum quo, ut aiunt, cœnabat in cubiculo lectæ patientiæ cliens: ſed difficile erat illi in copulam conjecto rixam ejus cum quo hærebat effugere. Optimum judicavit, quidquid dixiſſet ſequi, & ſecundas agere. Non tulit Cælius aſſentientem, ſed exclamavit: "Dic aliquid contra, ut duo ſimus." SEN. de Ira, III. 8.

tient,

ſient, meek, man. This perſon, well-acquainted with the temper of his patron, approved of and applauded all he ſaid. Cælius grew hereupon impatient to find no matter for diſputation, and cried out paſſionately to this eternal approver, "For once ſay no, that we "may differ." A. R. 702. Ant. C. 49.

The inſurrection and death of Milo and Cælius are facts that happened under Cæſar's ſecond Conſulſhip. There yet remains of the Conſulſhip of Lentulus and Marcellus the military preparations made by Pompey. Theſe were great indeed; for he had made a proper uſe of the time given him by Cæſar's Spaniſh expedition. Beſides the five legions that he had tranſported with himſelf from Italy, another had been ſent him from Sicily; and he had raiſed three in Crete, Macedonia, and Aſia, re-aſſembling all the veterans he could, who had been ſettled in thoſe countries by former Generals. He expected alſo two legions that Metellus Scipio was to bring out of Syria. Cæſ.

As for auxiliary forces, all the Kings and Nations of Greece and the Eaſt had furniſhed him with archers, ſlingers, and cavalry. This foreign cavalry, of various nations, amounted to three thouſand ſix hundred men. Some of the corps, of which it was compoſed, were commanded by their Kings, in perſon; the moſt eminent among whom was old Dejotarus, whom zeal and affection for Pompey brought there, at the head of ſix hundred horſe. The proviſions, ammunition, and money, were proportionable to the greatneſs of this force. But, above all, Pompey had took care to provide a formidable fleet. He had collected ſhips from Aſia and the Cyclades, from Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Egypt. * It was in his marine, that he, after the example of Themiſtocles, placed his hopes of victory; ſatisfied, that he, who was maſter at ſea,

* Pompeii omne conſilium Themiſtocleum eſt. Exiſtimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum neceſſe rerum potiri. Cic. ad Att. X. 8.

would

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. would neceſſarily give the law. This fleet was ſtationed along the coaſt of Epirus and Illyricum, under different Commanders, who were all ſubordinate to Bibulus, as Admiral.

Plut. Cat. Pompey had, at firſt, deſigned this important Command for Cato, and had promiſed him it. But he reflected afterwards, or his friends made him reflect, that he would thereby give too much power to that rigid Republican, whoſe ſole view was to maintain the old Government: that, as ſoon as Cæſar was vanquiſhed, Cato would be for Pompey's laying down his arms; and that he would be in a condition to compel him to it, when at the head of a fleet of above five hundred ſhips. This reflection ſtruck Pompey, whoſe deſigns were not quite ſo honeſt as Cato's, and determined him to conſtitute Bibulus Admiral. He could not have pitched on a man worſe-affected to Cæſar, but he could eaſily have choſe an abler Commander.

Plut. Pomp. Appian. Pompey took care to exerciſe himſelf his land-forces. He did more, he ſet them an example; and, though he was near ſixty years old, he entered the liſts, both on foot and horſeback, and was the firſt to lend a hand to all military works. This behaviour made him extremely popular. It charmed the ſoldiers, and made them confident, to ſee Pompey perform his exerciſes as a young man, draw and return his ſword on horſeback at full ſpeed, and lance a javelin, not only with ſkill, but with a vigour that few in their prime could ſurpaſs.

Mean time the year was near expiring; and the Conſuls, who had lent their names and miniſtry to all that had been hitherto done, had a mind, before they were out of office, to give as regular a form as circumſtances would allow to the adminiſtration of affairs. They had about them the flower of the Senate, to the number of more than two hundred; which conſequently might well repreſent that auguſt Aſſembly. The general opinion, that Pompey's cauſe was that of the State and Liberty, had united with him

him even thoſe who had particular reaſons to ſhun him. Brutus, whoſe father he had killed, and who, for that reaſon, would never before take any notice of, or ſee him, came now to pay his reſpects, and ſubmit to him, as head of the defenders of the Republic. A Senator, called by Plutarch Sex. Tidius, who was very old and lame, croſſed the ſea alſo to get to Pompey's camp. When he arrived, ſeveral laughed at him; but Pompey got up, and received him with great civility; judging rightly, that he did much honour to his cauſe, in overcoming the obſtacles of age and infirmity, and in expoſing himſelf to dangers with him, when he might have continued in Italy in ſafety. A. R. 703 Ant. C. 49. Plut. Pomp. & Brut.

This general affection to Pompey was much ſtrengthened by his coming to a reſolution, upon Cato's repreſentation, not to kill any Roman in cold blood, and not to plunder any city in friendſhip or alliance with the Roman Empire. Every body was ſo charmed to find moderation and mildneſs added to the juſtice of the cauſe, that even thoſe, who could not ſhare in the war by actual ſervice, did what they could by prayers and vows; and they were conſidered as enemies to Gods and Men, who did not wiſh Pompey ſucceſs.

The Conſuls aſſembled the Senate in the city of Theſſalonica; where, for ſtricter obſervation of the laws and cuſtoms, they had conſecrated a place with augural ceremonies. For it was only in a place ſo prepared, that the Senate could regularly make decrees. Lentulus ſpoke firſt, and propoſed, that it ſhould be declared, that the Aſſembly, then actually ſitting at Theſſalonica, was the true Roman Senate. He added, that, nevertheleſs, as it was impoſſible for them to appoint Magiſtrates, it would be proper to order, that the Commands of all then in power ſhould be continued; and that thoſe who were then Conſuls, Prætors, and Quæſtors, ſhould keep their authority, and exerciſe their functions, by the names of Proconſuls, Proprætors, and Proquæſtors. Laſtly, he repre- Lucan, l. v. Appian. Dio.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 49. repreſented, that the poſture of affairs required a ſingle Head; and that nobody could diſpute that honour with Pompey. Every one applauded this propoſal; and a decree paſſed accordingly. Thus Pompey obtained alone the ſupreme authority, which till then he had ſhared nominally at leaſt, with the Conſuls. This Senate alſo decreed honours and thanks to the Kings and Nations that favoured their cauſe. And in particular young Ptolomy, King of Egypt, under whoſe name, and by whoſe authority, Pompey was ſoon after murthered, had the poſſeſſion of his Crown confirmed by this Aſſembly, in excluſion of his ſiſter, the famous Cleopatra; though ſhe had a right to it by the will of Ptolomy Auletes, their common father, who left his Crown to his eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter, jointly.

I ſaid, that the year was almoſt expired; but, in reality, it was only the beginning of autumn, when all this happened. For it is to be obſerved, that, as the civil year of the Romans was then in great confuſion, they reckoned that the end of December, which was really only the beginning of October. It was there-
Cæſ. fore yet practicable to keep the field; but Pompey was going to diſtribute his troops among the maritime cities of Epirus, while his fleet was to guard the whole coaſt, and prevent Cæſar's paſſage. However, neither he, nor Bibulus, thought themſelves under a neceſſity of being very watchful yet; imagining they had before them great part of the autumn and all the winter, nor thinking that Cæſar could have any intention to come over before the return of the fine weather. This was being very ill-acquainted with Cæſar, and having little attended to the many proofs he had given of his prodigious activity. He was ſo eager to paſs into Greece, that he would not even ſtay at Rome till the firſt of January, to take poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip; but ſet out for Brundiſium when there remained only a few days of December. It was in that city he went through the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion of that office.

C. Ju-

C. JULIUS CÆSAR II. A. R. 704.
P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS. Ant. C. 48.

Cæſar found at Brundiſium twelve legions and all his cavalry. But, notwithſtanding his orders to build and aſſemble as many ſhips as poſſible, he had ſcarce enough to embark ſeven legions and ſix hundred horſe. And yet theſe legions were far from being compleat. The Gauliſh wars, and their long march from Spain to Brundiſium, had continually thinned their ranks; and their abode, during the heat of the ſummer, in the unwholeſome country of Apulia had made moſt of them ill.

Theſe many difficulties did not retard Cæſar. He aſſembles his forces, and repreſents to them, that the end of all their labours drew near, and they had now only one laſt effort to make; that, as he had not ſhips anſwerable to their number, they would do well to leave behind them their baggage and ſlaves that would take up the room of ſerviceable people; and that they ſhould put all their hopes in victory, and the generoſity of their General. They all readily conſented to what was propoſed; and Cæſar embarked in his tranſports twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers and ſix hundred horſe, under an eſcort of but twelve men of war. With this force he went to face a fleet of five or ſix hundred veſſels, and a land army of above ſixty thouſand commanded by Pompey.

He ſet ſail the fourth of January, according to the faulty calculation of the Romans, but, properly ſpeaking, on the fourteenth of October. The next day he arrived at the * Ceraunian mountains; and having found among the rocks and ſhelves, with which that coaſt abounds, a tolerable road, he debarked: for he durſt not go to any port, as he knew they were all in the enemy's poſſeſſion. In fact, Lucretius Veſpillo

* Monti della Chimera.

guarded

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. guarded that of Oricum † with eighteen men of war; and Bibulus had an hundred and ten at ‡ Corcyra, but the firſt durſt not hazard an engagement; and the other had not time to re-aſſemble his ſailors and ſoldiers, who were diſperſed in full ſecurity.

As ſoon as Cæſar had landed his troops, his firſt care was to ſend back his ſhips to Brundiſium, to bring over his other legions and cavalry. Thirty of theſe veſſels fell into the hands of Bibulus; who had put to ſea, though ſomewhat late, and by a cruelty the more deteſtable, as it was contrary to the humane reſolution made by thoſe from whom he derived his authority, he not only burnt the ſhips, but alſo the maſters they belonged to, and the ſailors on board. Shame and vexation, for having ſuffered Cæſar to paſs over, made him the more vigilant to prevent at leaſt the paſſage of the forces yet in Italy; and he guarded with extraordinary care all the coaſt from Salona § in Dalmatia to Oricum.

Pompey was then in Macedonia. Cæſar, who deſigned to ſeize on the maritime cities of Epirus, and particularly on Dyrrachium, where all the enemy's magazines were, diſpatched to him, perhaps to amuſe him, Vibullius Rufus with new propoſals for a peace. This Vibullius had been twice taken by Cæſar; the firſt time at Corfinium, the next in Spain. Having been therefore twice indebted to him for his life, and being alſo much in Pompey's eſteem, Cæſar thought him a proper perſon to negotiate between them.

His inſtructions were: "That, after the misfortunes they had both experienced, Pompey in Italy and Spain, and Cæſar in Illyricum and Afric, it was time to learn from thoſe bloody leſſons, and liſten to an accommodation. That the preſent moment was the moſt favourable in that reſpect, they could ever

† A city of Epirus, near the Ceraunian mountains.
‡ Iſland of Corfou.
§ This city is ruined; and out of its ruins has been formed the city of Spalatro, four miles off.

ex-

expect; becauſe, not having yet tried one another's ſtrength, and conſidering themſelves as equals, there would be more likelihood of agreeing on terms; whereas, if one of them once got the ſuperiority, he would exact every thing from the other, and give up nothing. He therefore propoſed, that they ſhould agree to have their differences determined at Rome by the Senate and People; and, that this judgment might be made freely, that they ſhould both ſwear forthwith at the head of their armies, to diſband all their national and auxiliary forces in the ſpace of three days." A. R. 704. Ant. C. 49.

Theſe propoſals were palpably fallacious. Pompey would never conſent that this determination ſhould be made at Rome, where his adverſary was then maſter. The project of diſbanding all the armies was more ſpecious than practicable; and, if it could have been executed, would have been very unequal. Cæſar's veterans would have re-aſſembled about him on the firſt ſignal; whereas Pompey's new levies would not have been ſo eaſily recalled. Laſtly, Cæſar well knew that Pompey had no inclination for peace. Thus it is plain, as I have frequently obſerved, that he only endeavoured to have appearances on his ſide, and the credit of pacific intentions, while he breathed nothing but war.

This he proſecuted with his uſual diligence. It coſt him no more to take poſſeſſion of Oricum and Apollonia, than to preſent himſelf before thoſe places; and all Epirus followed their example. There yet remained the city of Dyrrachium; towards which Cæſar advanced with ſuch diligence, that he marched a day and a night without taking any reſt himſelf, or allowing his ſoldiers to take any. This town was alſo the chief object of Pompey's care, as ſoon as he knew of his adverſary's landing in Greece. He ran thither in haſte, and was happy enough to get there firſt. When Cæſar found Dyrrachium was ſafe from his attack, he halted, and encamped on one ſide of the river Apſus: Pompey

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. Pompey came alſo with his whole force, and encamped on the other ſide.

Cæſar could not undertake any thing more now, till joined by his troops from Italy. But the coaſt was ſo well guarded by the enemy, that their paſſage was impracticable; and he wrote to Calenus, whom he left at Brundiſium, not to be in haſte about coming over. This order was very timely. Calenus, who had already ſailed out of port, put back again. A ſingle ſhip continued its route, and was taken by Bibulus; who with his uſual cruelty put to death all on board, both freemen and ſlaves.

If Bibulus greatly incommoded Cæſar, by being maſter of the ſea; Cæſar, who was maſter on ſhore, was very troubleſome to Bibulus, in his turn, by hindering him from getting water or wood, or coming near the ſhore. His fleet was obliged to fetch from the iſland of Corcyra all its neceſſaries; and once, when foul weather prevented their receiving refreſhments from thence, the ſoldiers were neceſſitated, for want of water, to collect the dew which in the night fell on the hides that covered their ſhips. Spite of theſe difficulties, Bibulus kept at ſea. But at laſt he ſunk under them; for, being took ill, and not having proper aſſiſtance on board, yet refuſing to quit his poſt, he died at ſea. No body ſucceeded him in the command of the whole fleet; but each ſquadron was governed, independently of the reſt, by its particular Commander.

The danger Dyrrachium was in, and Pompey's eagerneſs to ſuccour it, had not afforded him leiſure to give audience to Vibullius Rufus. When things were ſomewhat quieter, in the camp near the river Apſus, he ſent for him, and ordered him to ſignify what he had to ſay from Cæſar. But Vibullius had ſcarce began, before Pompey interrupted him, by exclaiming, "What is my life or country to me, if I muſt be "beholden to Cæſar for them? And will it be be-"lieved that I am not indebted to him for them, if "he by an accommodation reſtores me to Rome?"

Cæſar

Cæſar, informed of this anſwer, continued the old game; and, the more intractable he found Pompey, the more he affected to make advances. Thus, as the ſoldiers of the two armies often joined in converſation, he took advantage of the opportunity; and Vatinius by his order advanced to the river-ſide. We know what ſort of a man this Vatinius was; and that there centered in him every thing that was capable of exciting contempt and hatred. No mouth could be ſo proper to diſcredit even the language of equity and reaſon. He cried with a loud voice, "Will it not "be permitted to citizens to ſend Deputies to their "fellow-citizens about peace? This is what is never "refuſed, even to robbers and pirates. And can "there be purer intentions than ours, ſince we only "labour to prevent the civil butchery of friends and "countrymen?" A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

If we are to credit Cæſar's relation, his adverſary conſented to an interview, only to put in execution an act of perfidy: For the next day, when the Deputies on both ſides were met at the time and place appointed, while Labienus was debating with Vatinius, on a ſudden thoſe of Pompey's party threw their javelins, and wounded ſeveral of Cæſar's people, and Vatinius himſelf eſcaped with difficulty, being covered by the ſoldiers ſhields. Labienus then lifted up his voice, and cried, "Leave off prating of an accom-"modation: for you muſt not expect peace, till you "bring us Cæſar's head." A moſt brutal declaration from a man, who ought at leaſt to have had in reſpectful remembrance the benefits he had received from his old General!

But I cannot help obſerving, that for the fact I have juſt now related, and ſome preceding ones of the ſame nature, we have no other authority than Cæſar's; and it is not juſt to credit him altogether in what reflects on his enemies. To be ſure there was great haughtineſs and ſeverity in the procedure of Pompey and his partizans. Theſe accounts of their cruelty and perfidy may be true; but they may alſo be ex-

A.R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

aggerated, and even altered in particulars of moment.

The armies of Cæſar and Pompey continued a good while in ſight of one another, ſeparated only by a ſmall river, without any thing paſſing between them but ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes. The great object of the care of their two Generals was the army left at Brundiſium; which Cæſar impatiently expected, and whoſe paſſage Pompey was greatly intereſted to prevent. Libo, who commanded a fleet of fifty ſhips, flattered himſelf for ſome time that he ſhould be able to detain theſe troops in Italy, and abſolutely hinder them from putting to ſea. He came with his fleet and took poſſeſſion of a little iſland over-againſt the port of Brundiſium; and, if he could have maintained his poſt, would have ſo blocked up the port that nothing could have ſtirred out. But Anthony, who was then in the town, having poſted cavalry all along the coaſt to hinder the enemy from watering, Libo was forced to retire ignominiouſly.

Several months were ſpent in this manner, and the winter was almoſt over, which was the only time for Cæſar's forces to hazard the paſſage. If they ſtayed till fine weather, Pompey's fleet, being then able to act and extend itſelf, would render it abſolutely impracticable. Cæſar could not but think that his Lieutenants were negligent, and had let ſlip ſome precious moment, when a fair wind might have brought them to Greece. A delay, ſo contrary to his temper, extremely vexed him. The want he was in of a reinforcement, his uneaſineſs and impatience, perhaps, too, even ſome ſuſpicion of Anthony's fidelity, made him reſolve on an experiment, which he takes no notice of in his Commentaries, doubtleſs on account of its raſhneſs; but which all other writers unanimouſly report.

Plut. Appian. Dio. Lucan.

He determined to go in perſon after the tardy troops. For this purpoſe he ſent, towards night, three ſlaves to hire a bark on the river, as it were for a courier from him to Italy. Towards midnight he came

came himſelf, diſguiſed as a ſlave; and they ſet out. The wind was high; however, they got well enough to the river's mouth. But there, the waves of the ſea, meeting with the water of the river, put the little veſſel in ſuch manifeſt danger, that the maſter ordered the rowers to turn back, ſince it was not poſſible to advance. Cæſar upon this diſcovers himſelf; and addreſſing the maſter, * "What are you afraid of? "ſays he, you carry Cæſar and his Fortune." The maſter and crew, extremely ſurprized, redouble their efforts, and vigorouſly ſtem the waves. But they were at laſt forced to give way to an element not to be overcome by human obſtinacy: and, as it was near day, and Cæſar was afraid of being ſeen by the advanced guards of the enemy, he ſuffered himſelf, with much reluctance, to be carried back to the place where he embarked. Thus he returned to his camp; having attempted an action more becoming, if I may ſay ſo, a Partizan, than a General. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

The courage and confidence of his ſoldiers were ſuch, that, when they ſaw him come back, they complained, that he ſhould not think himſelf ſecure of victory with them alone. They thought it ſtrange, that he ſhould expoſe himſelf in going after other forces, as if thoſe he had were not ſufficient. On the other ſide, thoſe who were left in Italy burnt with impatience to croſs the ſea; and, ſtanding on the ſhore and beach, looked towards Epirus; haſtening, at leaſt by their wiſhes, the hour of their departure. But their officers detained them on account of the danger.

Cæſar well knew the ardour of his ſoldiers. He therefore wrote in a ſevere manner to his Lieutenants at Brundiſium, commanding them to ſail the firſt fair wind; and, in caſe they did not ſpeedily execute his orders, he gave Poſthumius, who brought them, a letter addreſſed to the ſoldiers themſelves; in

* Quid times? Cæſarem vehis. FLOR. Plutarch and Appian add, what I have expreſſed, καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. which he exhorted them to embark under the conduct of this Poſthumius, and to trouble themſelves about nothing but getting on ſhore, without minding what became of the ſhips; becauſe, he ſaid, he wanted men, not ſhips. He acquainted them, that they would ſtand the beſt chance of eſcaping the enemy on the coaſt of Apollonia.

Cæſ. Such preſſing orders had the deſired effect. Anthony and Calenus took advantage of a ſouth wind; and having embarked in their tranſports four legions (three of which were old corps, and one new-raiſed) and eight hundred horſe, put to ſea. They were in great danger in the paſſage; and eſcaped merely by a piece of luck, which, far from juſtifying, evidences on the contrary the temerity of their enterprize. They were diſcovered off of Dyrrachium. Immediately Coponius ſlips out of port after them, with ſixteen Rhodian gallies. The fight would have been very unequal between gallies and tranſports; therefore Anthony and Calenus had nothing to do but to make off as faſt as poſſible. But finding themſelves vigorouſly purſued, and almoſt overtaken, they ran into a ſmall port, which did not ſhelter them from the ſouth wind. But they preferred the hazard of being loſt to that of fighting. At that inſtant the wind changed from ſouth to ſouth-weſt, and put them in perfect ſecurity; for the ſouth-weſt wind did not incommode them in the port. The ſame wind, which is tempeſtuous, beat ſo furiouſly on the Rhodian gallies, that they were broke to pieces againſt the ſhore. Not one eſcaped; and almoſt all their crews were drowned. Coponius, however, was ſaved. Several of the rowers were alſo taken out of the water by Cæſar's people, and ſent into their country, with great humanity. What would have become of Anthony, what of Cæſar himſelf, had it not been for this change of wind, which looks like an incident contrived on purpoſe to deliver them from a danger into which an exceſſive boldneſs had precipitated them? What judgment would have paſſed on Cæſar's orders, if his tranſ-

tranſports had been either beat and took by the Rhodian ſquadron, or broke to pieces in the port by the violence of the wind? A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Two ſhips of Anthony's fleet were left behind; and, not knowing what route their Commander had took, they dropped anchor over-againſt Liſſus, a little town on the ſame coaſt as Dyrrachium, to the north, and three miles from the port of Nymphæum, wherein Anthony had been ſaved. Otacilius, who commanded in Liſſus, immediately ſent ſeveral ſhips to take theſe two veſſels, or compel them to ſurrender. On this occaſion appeared, as Cæſar obſerves, how great a difference different degrees of courage make in the condition of men expoſed to the ſame danger. One of theſe veſſels carried two hundred and twenty new-raiſed ſoldiers; the other leſs than two hundred veterans. The new levies, frighted at the number of their adverſaries, and fatigued with ſeaſickneſs, ſurrendered, on promiſe of their lives. But Otacilius did not keep his word; for he ordered them all to be cruelly ſlain in his preſence. The veterans, on the contrary, would not hear of laying down their arms, and obliged the pilot to run the veſſel aſhore. Thus they landed; and, Otacilius having ſent againſt them four hundred horſe, they made a ſtout defence, killed ſome of them, and rejoined the main army.

Soon after, Anthony was received into Liſſus; from whence he returned moſt of his ſhips to Brundiſium, to fetch over the remaining troops deſigned for tranſportation; reſerving nevertheleſs ſome ſhips of Gauliſh ſtructure, that, if Pompey (as it was rumoured) ſhould attempt to return to Italy, Cæſar might be able to follow him.

Anthony's intention was to join his General. Pompey made ſome motions to hinder this junction; and even endeavoured to ſurprize Anthony into an ambuſcade; but in vain. Cæſar, informed of the arrival of the long-expected reinforcement, went to meet it; and, having effected the junction, found himſelf at the head of eleven legions, which, though incom-

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. pleat, made nevertheleſs an army of forty thouſand men.

Pompey's forces, which were already more conſiderable than Cæſar's as to number, received alſo an augmentation about the ſame time by the arrival of Metellus Scipio in Macedonia. This man, more illuſtrious on account of his birth and rank, than of his capacity and conduct, had been ſent into Syria at the beginning of the war, as I mentioned, in the quality of Proconſul; to draw from thence what troops were there, and bring them to the aſſiſtance of his ſon-in-law Pompey. He diſcharged his truſt in a manner that did no honour to his party. He is accuſed in Cæſar's Commentaries of exactions, oppreſſions, and vexations of all ſorts, throughout Syria and Aſia Minor. True it is, that Cæſar ſeems to have had a perſonal diſlike to him, and takes a palpable pleaſure in ſpeaking ill of him. But all we know from other hands, concerning the life and proceedings of Metellus Scipio, gives us no right to ſuſpect Cæſar's teſtimony, though he was his enemy. We may call to mind ſome things we have mentioned elſewhere: and Joſephus relates, that, while he was in Syria, he beheaded Alexander, Prince of the Jews, under the frivolous pretext of his having formerly occaſioned ſome diſturbance in Judæa; but in truth becauſe he favoured Cæſar's cauſe, like his unfortunate father Ariſtobulus, who had been poiſoned a little before by Pompey's partizans for the ſame reaſon.

Joſ. Ant. xiv. 13, & 15.

Cæſ. Scipio even pretended to have a particular reaſon for conniving at the licence of his troops; who, having been originally deſtined to war againſt the Parthians, did not march with a good-will againſt a Roman, and a Conſul. In order therefore to attach them to him, he allowed them all kinds of robbery; and he himſelf took every opportunity to plunder, that he might have wherewithal to be liberal to them. He was going to ſeize on the treaſures of the Epheſian Diana, when he received letters from Pompey, deſiring him to haſten to him, becauſe Cæſar had paſſed into

into Greece. This is what prevented the pillage of that celebrated, reſpected, temple. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

When Scipio got into Macedonia, he found himſelf oppoſed by Domitius Calvinus, a Lieutenant of Cæſar, at the head of two legions. For, as ſoon as Cæſar was ſtrong enough, he took care to extend himſelf, and get more room. Till then he was ſupplied with proviſions only from Epirus; all the reſt of Greece, and the ſea, were in poſſeſſion of the enemy. As therefore Deputies had been ſent to him from Ætolia, Theſſalia, and Macedonia, who engaged to make thoſe countries declare for him, if he would ſend ſome troops there, he made three great detachments; one of five cohorts and a ſmall body of horſe, for Ætolia, under Calviſius Sabinus; another for Theſſaly, of one legion and two hundred horſe, under L. Caſſius Longinus; and a third (the moſt conſiderable) under Domitius Calvinus, for Macedonia, of two legions and five hundred horſe.

Sabinus met with the leaſt oppoſition. The Ætolians received him with open arms; and he eaſily drove Pompey's garriſons out of Naupactum and Calydon. Lepanto.

In Theſſaly there was a powerful party againſt Cæſar; and, Metellus Scipio being come up with his army, L. Caſſius was conſtrained to fly the country. He then fell on Acarnania, which he eaſily ſubdued. Some time after, upon receiving freſh orders from Cæſar, Caſſius and Calviſius joined; and Fufius Calenus, being ſent to take the command of the combined detachment, entered into Bœotia and Phocis, and made himſelf maſter of Delphi, Thebes, and Orchomenus. He intended to penetrate into Peloponneſus; but Rutilius Lupus, Pompey's Lieutenant, hindered him by walling up the Iſthmus of Corinth.

As for Domitius Calvinus, Metellus Scipio and he kept one another in play, without any thing of moment happening between them.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. All theſe little expeditions were indeciſive of the main buſineſs, which depended on the operations of the two grand armies. Pompey, having been diſappointed with reſpect to Anthony, encamped at a place called Aſparagium. Cæſar followed him, and offered him battle. But it was not agreeable to Pompey's views to hazard an action. He knew Cæſar's ſoldiers were invincible by fair fighting. Beſides, he was in a good ſituation to protract the war, having plenty of all things, and being maſter of all the ſeas; ſo that no wind could blow but what brought him either reinforcements or convoys. Cæſar, on the contrary, was under difficulties; he was ſupplied with proviſions by a country of ſmall extent, and had ſcarce any corn. Pompey therefore pretended to reduce his adverſary by want, without riſquing an engagement. He had acted wiſely, and been happy, if he had perſevered in this reſolution to the laſt.

Cæſar could not compel him to fight. He therefore turned off to Dyrrachium, where Pompey's magazines were, as we have obſerved. Pompey was not aware of his adverſary's deſign, till late, and ſo could not hinder Cæſar from getting between him and Dyrrachium. But he came and encamped a little way off, in a place called Petra, where he had ſtill the advantage of the ſea.

Cæſar then formed the boldeſt project perhaps that ever came into a General's head. With an inferior army, almoſt famiſhed, he undertook to incloſe in lines more numerous forces, who had received no check, and abounded in all things. His views herein were, firſt to facilitate the paſſage of his convoys, which the enemy's cavalry, which was very ſtrong and fine, would no longer cut off; next, to diſtreſs this very cavalry, for want of forage; and laſtly, to leſſen the great reputation and high idea entertained of Pompey. He had a mind to have it reported all over the world, that Pompey ſuffered himſelf to be blockaded, and as it were impriſoned, by Cæſar's works; and durſt not hazard a battle to ſet himſelf at liberty.

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The country itſelf gave Cæſar a hint towards this project. All round Pompey's camp, at a ſmall diſtance, were ſteep hills. Cæſar built forts on theſe hills, and drew lines of communication from one fort to another. Pompey, who would not leave the ſea and Dyrrachium, nor give battle, could do nothing but extend himſelf to give his adverſary the more trouble. This he did: he made within the ſame works as Cæſar did without: he raiſed twenty-four forts, which took in a circumference of fifteen miles, wherein were arable and paſture lands to feed his horſes and beaſts of burthen. He even perfected the work before his adverſary: as his took up a leſs circuit, and he had more hands. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

It is eaſy to conceive, that though there was no general action, becauſe Pompey declined it, yet it was impoſſible to prevent many engagements, which ſometimes became important. Of theſe I ſhall relate the moſt remarkable circumſtances. In an action, in which Cæſar attempted to make a lodgment on an eminence that interfered with his lines, his troops were attacked ſo briſkly by the Pompeians, that a retreat became neceſſary. This too was not eaſy, as it was to be made by a pretty ſteep deſcent: and Pompey went ſo far as to ſay, "that he conſented to be "accounted a General of no merit, if Cæſar's men "got off without conſiderable loſs." Cæſar refuted this bravado by fact. He ordered his ſoldiers to fix in the ground ſome hurdles, in the manner we now uſe faſcines; behind which they dug a moderate ditch. When this was done, he began to file off the legionary ſoldiers, ſupporting them by ſome light-armed troops poſted on their flanks, who with arrows and ſtones repulſed the enemy. Pompey's troops failed not to purſue them with great outcries and fierce menaces, overturned the hurdles, and uſed them as bridges to get over the ditch. Cæſar, who did not chooſe to ſeem drove from a poſt, which he quitted voluntarily; when his forces were got half down the hill, gave them the ſignal to face about and fall

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. fall on the enemy; which they did with ſuch vigour and impetuoſity, that their purſuers took to flight, and with much difficulty cleared the ditch and hurdles, which ſtopped their way. Many of them were killed: Cæſar loſt but five men, and effected his retreat without any further interruption.

A much more memorable day than this was that wherein there happened ſix actions at once; three near Dyrrachium, and three about the lines. We have loſt the particulars Cæſar gave us of theſe engagements in his Commentaries. Almoſt all we know of them is reducible to an inſtance of valour ſcarce to be credited. One of Cæſar's cohorts (that is a battalion of five hundred men at moſt, and which probably was incompleat) defended a fort ſeveral hours againſt four of Pompey's legions.

Plut. Cæſ. Appian. Lucan. Val. Max. III. 2. He who got the moſt honour in this glorious defence was the Centurion Scæva *. I have already took notice of the extraordinary valour he ſhewed on this occaſion. Being entruſted with the care of one of the gates of the fort, he drove off the enemy; though he was wounded in the head, run through the ſhoulders and the thigh, and had loſt one eye. In this condition he called to a Centurion of the other ſide, as it were to ſurrender; who coming up to him unguardedly, Scæva thruſt his ſword through his body.

Cæſ. In a word, the whole cohort kept their poſt till two legions came to their aſſiſtance, who eaſily diſcomfited Pompey's four. The intrepid warriors, who had maintained their ground with ſuch obſtinate valour, were all wounded: they brought and counted to Cæſar about thirty thouſand arrows that had been ſhot into the fort; and ſhewed him Scæva's buckler,

* See Vol. VIII. Some different circumſtances may be obſerved in theſe two relations. In the firſt I follow Plutarch: Here particularly Valerius Maximus and Lucan. The ſame fact cannot paſs through different hands, without ſuffering ſome alteration. As never a one of my authors has on this occaſion a pre-eminent authority, I have made no ſcruple of a little variation in my narration. If we had this ſtory as related by Cæſar, I ſhould have adhered to him implicitly.

which

which was pierced in two hundred and thirty places. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.
Cæſar took care that ſuch aſtoniſhing valour ſhould not go unrewarded. He preſented Scæva with * two hundred thouſand aſſes, and advanced him directly from the eighth rank of Captains to the firſt. He alſo diſtributed military rewards among the other officers and ſoldiers of that cohort; and aſſigned them double pay, and double allowance of corn.

However worthy of admiration the courage of this cohort may be, I do not know whether we ought not to admire more the patience with which the whole army perſevered, in the greateſt want. It is true, they had fleſh, but they had no corn; and, when inſtead of it they had barley or pulſe given them, they took it chearfully, remembering that laſt year in Spain, and ſeveral times in Gaul, after having ſuffered much more, they had at laſt triumphed over their enemies. They diſcovered in the country a root, called by Cæſar Chara, which they pounded and kneaded with milk, ſo as to make a ſort of bread of it: and when their adverſaries reproached them with their want, by way of anſwer to their inſults, they threw theſe loaves at them; ſaying, that, as long as the earth produced ſuch roots, they would never releaſe them: and they often ſaid to one another, that they would ſooner live on the bark of trees than let Pompey eſcape. Where is the wonder, that a General, who could inſpire his ſoldiers with ſuch ſentiments, ſhould be always victorious? The talent of thus raiſing the courage of the ſoldiery implies many others, and almoſt gives me a higher idea of Cæſar than all his victories.

Pompey was frighted at the conſtancy and reſolu- Suet. Cæſ. c. 68. Plut. Cæſ.
tion of his adverſaries. He ſaid, "he had to do with "wild beaſts;" and concealed as much as poſſible the loaves of Chara thrown into his lines, leſt the ſight of that ſtrange nouriſhment ſhould diſhearten his army.

While the war was carried on with ſuch fury, Cæſar ſtill feigned an inclination for peace. Having been

* About ſix hundred pounds, ſterling.

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A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. ſo often repulſed by Pompey, he addreſſed himſelf now to Metellus Scipio; and wanted to enter into a negotiation with him by the miniſtry of a common friend. His enemies continued to do him ſervice, by taking on themſelves the odium of the refuſal. Scipio liſtened at firſt to Cæſar's Deputy, but preſently refuſed to hear or ſee him: and Clodius, for that was the name of this Negotiator, returned to Cæſar ſucceſsleſs.

Mean while Pompey, incloſed as he was by Cæſar, ſuffered great inconveniencies. He wanted two very neceſſary things, water and forage. He was in want of water, becauſe his enemy turned the river, and ſtopped up the ſprings; ſo that his troops were forced to look out for pools, and to dig wells, which the heat ſoon dried up. As to forage, the corn ſown within their lines ſupplied them for ſome time; but afterwards they were obliged to have it ſent them by ſea; and, as they could not get enough that way, they were forced to have recourſe to barley, herbage of all ſorts, and even the leaves of trees. At laſt, all expedients being exhauſted, and the horſes dying daily, Pompey thought it time to attempt to force the barricade, and ſet himſelf at liberty.

While he was buſied with this project, two deſerters of conſequence came to him, with informations that greatly facilitated its execution. They were two brothers, named Roſcillus and Ægus, Allobroges by birth, valiant men, who had been long attached to Cæſar; and who, having been very ſerviceable to him in his Gauliſh wars, had in recompence been loaded with honours and riches. Theſe men, perceiving how much they were conſidered by the General, grew thereupon inſolent; uſed their troopers ill, defrauded them often of their pay, and even impoſed on Cæſar by receiving pay for more men than they had. Complaints were therefore made to Cæſar, who did not think proper to make a buſtle, but reprimanded them in private. Theſe haughty Gauls, piqued at the diminution of their credit, and at the raillery they were often

often forced to bear, reſolved to change ſides; and went into Pompey's camp with ſome of their dependents. The acquiſition of theſe Officers was matter of triumph to that General; not only on account of their perſonal qualities, but becauſe, till then, nobody had deſerted from Cæſar; whereas ſcarce a day paſſed without ſome deſertion from Pompey's army. Roſcilius and Ægus were oſtentatiouſly carried all over the camp. But, beſides this ſatisfaction, which was rather vain than ſolid, they did their new friends an eſſential ſervice, by acquainting them with the foible of Cæſar's lines. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Pompey laid hold on the advantage, and made ſo vigorous and well-contrived a ſally, that he carried all before him. He attacked the extremity of the enemy's lines, towards the ſea, a good diſtance from the main camp: and the forces there had like to have been cut to pieces, had not Mark Anthony come to their aſſiſtance with twelve cohorts. He put a ſtop to the Victor's progreſs. But the lines were forced, and Pompey was at liberty; being able to forage, and having an eaſy communication with the ſea.

In this action, he who carried the eagle of the ninth legion manifeſted ſentiments worthy of a ſoldier of Cæſar. As he was dangerouſly wounded, and found his ſtrength fail, he called to ſome troopers who paſſed by, and ſaid to them: * "I have preſerved, to "the laſt moment of my life, with the greateſt care, "this eagle, with which I have been entruſted; and, "now I am dying, I return it to Cæſar, with the "ſame fidelity. Carry it to him, I beſeech you; "nor ſuffer Cæſar's arms to experience, in loſing it, "an ignominy with which they have been hitherto "unacquainted." Thus the eagle was ſaved from the diſaſter of the legion.

* Hanc ego & vivus multos per annos magna diligentia defendi, & nunc moriens, eadem fide Cæſari reſtituo. Nolite, obſecro, committere, quod ante in exercitu Cæſaris non accidit, ut rei militaris dedecus admittatur; incolumemque ad eum referte. Cæs. de B. Civ. III. 64.

Cæſar

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. Cæſar was not preſent in this engagement, the ſcene of action being remote from his quarters. He endeavoured the ſame day to have his revenge, by carrying off one of Pompey's legions. But ſome of the troops, intended for this expedition, miſſed their way; which gave Pompey time to ſuccour the legion in danger. The face of affairs was inſtantly changed. Thoſe who were before in a manner beſieged, took courage, and repulſed the aſſailants. Cæſar's forces, on the contrary, aimed at nothing but a retreat. But, as the ground was diſadvantageous the horſe took fright firſt, and ran away. The panic communicated itſelf to the infantry. Theſe invincible warriors fly precipitately, and throw one another down, under their General's eyes. All his efforts to rally them are fruitleſs. If he ſeized any by the arm, they ſtruggled till they got away. If he laid hold of the colours, they left them in his hands. There was even an Enſign who preſented the point of his ſword, as going to ſtab him; but he was immediately killed by thoſe about Cæſar.

The defeat was compleat; and, if Pompey had come up directly and attacked Cæſar's lines briſkly, there would have been an end of Cæſar's army and fortune. He himſelf was of this opinion; for he ſays on this ſubject, "that his adverſaries would have been victorious, if their General had known how to conquer." Pompey was apprehenſive of an ambuſcade, and loſt, by over-caution, an opportunity that never returned.

Plut. Pom. & Cæſ.

Cæſar's loſs in theſe two actions was conſiderable. He owns the ſlain and priſoners to amount to nine hundred and ſixty private men, thirty Officers, and ſome Roman Knights and Senators ſons. He loſt alſo thirty-two-colours. The priſoners were delivered up to Labienus on his requeſt; and this deſerter, brutal and cruel, as uſual, diverted himſelf with inſulting them in their calamity; and aſked them ſarcaſtically, if it was uſual for veterans to run away; after which he cauſed them to be put to death.

Cæſar,

Cæſar, having received ſuch a check, ſubmitted to fortune. He found he could not proſecute his ſcheme, and therefore gave it up. He called in all his forces from the forts; he no longer thought of attacking or incloſing the enemy; he aimed at nothing but a retreat, till ſuch time as he ſhould find, or make, a better opportunity. He aſſembles his ſoldiers, and comforts them by all the arguments he could think of. This was what was very neceſſary; reprimands would have been unſeaſonable. For they were ſo aſhamed and grieved, that they undertook to puniſh themſelves by the ſevereſt impoſitions. Cæſar therefore contented himſelf with ſtigmatizing, and reducing to private men, ſome of the Enſigns: whoſe puniſhment the ſoldiers applauded. Moreover they demanded, with great outcries, to be led againſt the enemy, that they might expunge the ſtain their glory had received. But Cæſar did not think it prudent to expoſe to an action troops that had been juſt worſted, and in whom might remain too deep impreſſions of their late fright. He determined to quit Epirus, and go into Theſſaly. He conducted this retreat ſo ſkilfully, that though he had very difficult ways to paſs, and ſome great rivers to croſs, he ſuffered no loſs, though purſued by Pompey for three days. On the fourth, Cæſar having got a day's march, Pompey ſtopped, and left him to continue his route; he then held a Council on the uſe he ſhould make of the ſuperiority he had acquired over his adverſary. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Afranius, and ſome others, were for going into Italy; and he enforced his opinion with ſome ſtrong arguments. He repreſented, that Italy was not in a condition to make any defence; and that, as ſoon as they ſet foot in it, the nations and cities would receive them with joy. He added, that, when they were once maſters of Italy, they ſhould alſo neceſſarily be ſo of the dependent iſlands, Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, and even of Gaul and Spain. Laſtly, he pretended, that it became good citizens to deliver their Country, who expected it from them; and not Plut. Pomp.

to

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. to let it groan any longer under oppreſſions, nor be vexed and inſulted by the Miniſters and Slaves of Tyrants.

Pompey was not affected by theſe reaſons. It ſeemed to him inglorious to fly a ſecond time, before an enemy who might follow them. Beſides, he thought juſtly, that he ought not to abandon Metellus Scipio and his army, who, if he went into Italy, would inevitably fall a prey to Cæſar. And, as to the regard to be paid to his Country, he thought the beſt way to ſhew that, was, not to make Italy the ſcene of the horrors of war, but, on the contrary, to proſecute it in a diſtant region; ſo that Rome, being mere ſpectatrix of the war, might have nothing to do but to admit her Conqueror. He therefore determined to continue in Greece, and there decide the quarrel.

Cæſ. He did not, however, obſtinately follow Cæſar, whom he had no hopes of overtaking, but formed a deſign of weakening him, by ſurprizing Domitius Calvinus, his Lieutenant, who with two legions ſtopped Metellus Scipio on the confines of Theſſaly and Macedonia. This ſcheme was well-imagined, and had like to have ſucceeded. Calvinus knew nothing of what had happened at Dyrrachium. Cæſar's couriers had not been able to get to him; becauſe, ſince Pompey's ſucceſs, all the country declared for him, whom they had already conſidered as victorious. So that Calvinus was in perfect ſecurity; and, having left Metellus Scipio for the convenience of proviſions and forage, was actually marching (without knowing it) to meet Pompey, and deliver himſelf into his hands. A lucky accident ſaved him. Some of the enemy's ſcouts, of the number of thoſe Allobroges deſerters I ſpoke of, met thoſe of Calvinus; and knowing them, as they had ſerved together formerly in Gaul, entered into converſation with them, and informed them of all that had paſſed; of Pompey's victory, and Cæſar's retreat. Advice was immediately given of this to Calvinus; and he marched back again ſo *à propos*, that Pompey miſſed of him but by four hours.

Cæſar

Cæſar foreſaw Calvinus's danger, and was in full march to join him. But the care of his ſick and wounded, whom he was neceſſitated to leave in ſome place of ſafety, and other unavoidable buſineſs, had retarded him. Calvinus however eſcaped from Pompey in the manner related, and joined Cæſar near Æginium, a town on the borders of Theſſaly. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

This was what Cæſar principally deſired. Uncertain what projects Pompey might form after the actions at Dyrrachium, he had conſidered every thing; and thought it neceſſary at all events to turn towards Theſſaly, and there re-unite his whole ſtrength. If Pompey paſſed into Italy, he purpoſed (after having joined Calvinus) to wind round the Adriatic ſea by the coaſt of Illyricum, and thus go to the defence of Italy. Pompey might take other meaſures, and fall on the maritime cities of Epirus, in which Cæſar had left garriſons. In that caſe he reckoned to oblige him, by attacking Metellus Scipio, to leave every thing to ſuccour him. Laſtly, if Pompey marched towards Theſſaly, Calvinus's danger would have compelled Cæſar to have done the ſame. And this laſt plan ſuited him beſt, becauſe in that caſe his adverſary, leaving the ſea, loſt the infinite advantage thence reſulting; all things were then equal between them, except numbers, which never frighted Cæſar.

Things having fell out according to his wiſhes, he endeavoured to penetrate into Theſſaly. But the loſſes lately ſuſtained by him, had altered the diſpoſition of the people; and, though before the whole country had ſent Deputies to him to proffer their ſervice, yet now the city of Gomphi, which was the firſt he came to, ſhut its gates againſt him. Cæſar was aware of the conſequences of ſuch a precedent; and, to prevent its bad effects, he immediately aſſaulted the town ſo vigorouſly, that he was maſter of it before evening, and gave it up to be plundered. The Conqueror found there all ſorts of neceſſaries, and particularly great quantities of wine. As his troops had long fared ill, they now made themſelves amends, Appian. Civ. l. II.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 49. and drank to exceſs, particularly the Germans. This debauch, by ſtirring the humours of their bodies, which were naturally robuſt and vigorous, re-eſtabliſhed their health, which was impaired by the hardſhips they had endured; and that, which would have killed delicate men, reſtored to theſe veterans their priſtine vigour.

Appian relates, that a houſe at Gomphi preſented to thoſe who entered it a very tragical ſpectacle; twenty dead bodies of venerable old men ſtretched on the ground, as in a drunken fit, having each of them his cup by him. Only one was yet ſitting, with his cup in his hand. This was the Phyſician, who, after he had adminiſtered the poiſon to the others, had taken it himſelf in his turn. The apprehenſion of the terrible calamities that attend a ſtorm drove them to this deed of deſperation.

From Gomphi Cæſar marched expeditiouſly to the city of Metropolis, whoſe inhabitants at firſt imitated their neighbours, being unacquainted with their misfortune. But, as ſoon as informed of it by ſome priſoners from Gomphi, who were ſent to them, they opened their gates in haſte, and admitted Cæſar; who ſuffered no hoſtilities to be committed, nor any harm to be done them.

The different treatment of theſe two cities was a leſſon to all the others in Theſſaly. Not one refuſed to ſubmit to Cæſar, and receive his orders, except Lariſſa, into which Metellus Scipio had entered with all his troops. He advanced then without difficulty to Pharſalia, a place he was going to immortalize by one of the moſt important battles that hiſtory has preſerved. As the country was good, and covered with corn that was near ripe, Cæſar judged it a proper place to wait for Pompey in. Pompey did not loiter; but, having joined Metellus Scipio, came and encamped near Cæſar. He ſhared the honours of the command with his father-in-law, and would have him treated in all things as his equal.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Ridiculous preſumption and cruelty of the partiſans of Pompey. Their murmurings at the prudent delay of their General. Secret views of Pompey in ſuch delay. He leaves Cato at Dyrrachium. The reaſons for this procedure. Cicero alſo continues at Dyrrachium: His ſharp and peeviſh railleries. Cæſar endeavours to come to a general engagement. Pompey, after many delays, at length advances to meet him. Battle of Pharſalia. Strange conduct of Pompey. His flight. Cæſar forces the enemy's camp. Remarkable ſaying of Cæſar. He purſues ſuch as had ſheltered themſelves in the adjacent mountains, and compels them to ſurrender. The loſs Cæſar ſuſtained in the battle of Pharſalia. His generoſity after victory. He is well pleaſed with ſaving Brutus. The battle of Pharſalia foretold at Dyrrachium, and known at Padua, in a very extraordinary and almoſt miraculous manner. Pompey's flight. He goes to Mitylene to fetch his wife. Diſcourſes with Cratippus on Providence. Continues his journey, and determines to ſeek protection in Egypt. Goes there, and is aſſaſſinated. Reflections on his death and character. His murderers cut off his head. His body is meanly buried by one of his freedmen. L. Lentulus arrives in Egypt, and is there killed. The conquered follow various intereſts. Cicero goes to Brunduſium, where he waits a conſiderable time for Cæſar. Cato, at the head of the greateſt part of the fleet, advances towards Libya for intelligence. He hears of Pompey's death by Sex. Pompeius and by Cornelia. Takes upon him the command, and is received at Cyrene.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR II.
P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS.

Plut. Pomp. Cæſ. de B. C. l. III.

GREAT was the confidence of Pompey's party after the action of Dyrrachium. From that time both officers and ſoldiers looked on themſelves as compleatly victorious, and on that account reported every where the advantages they had gained, and the news of Cæſar's retreat. This confidence was attended by as great raſhneſs and folly: For how otherwiſe are thoſe warm conteſts to be accounted for, which were carried great lengths, between Lentulus Spinther, Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Metellus Scipio, for the High Prieſthood, which Cæſar was in poſſeſſion of? Theſe three competitors for a dignity which there was not the leaſt proſpect would be vacant, pleaded their ſeveral cauſes, alledged their ſeveral titles and pretenſions, and madly divided the ſpoils of an enemy, whoſe triumph they were ſhortly to grace by their flight, or death.

This inſtance of preſumption, all extravagant as it appears, was not the only one, and examples of the like madneſs were very frequent in Pompey's camp. Some hired houſes near the Forum, as more convenient to ſollicit the employments of the enſuing year; whilſt others were making votes in the very army. The deputation of Hirrus, ſent againſt the Parthians, occaſioned great uneaſineſs; becauſe Pompey, to induce him to accept of this commiſſion, had promiſed him the Prætorſhip, notwithſtanding his abſence: And ſuch as aſpired at this office took it much amiſs, and complained publickly, that a promiſe of a place ſhould be made to any one candidate, which conſequently muſt put the reſt under the neceſſity of making greater intereſt, to prevent their miſcarrying. They alſo divided the booty among them, and L. Lentulus, who was Conſul the preceding year, took for his ſhare the houſe of Hortenſius, ſon of the famous Orator of that name, and who had a command in

in the oppoſite party; with Cæſar's gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and his country houſe near Baiæ in Campania. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Nor did revenge leſs employ their thoughts than ambition and plunder. This was not confined to ſuch only as had taken up arms againſt them: whoever had ſtaid in Italy was to be eſteemed and treated as an enemy. The * proſcription was actually drawn up, not for the condemnation of particular perſons, but of each particular rank of perſons. And Domitius's propoſal was, that after the victory, all the Senators in Pompey's army and camps ſhould be appointed judges in what manner to proceed in regard to thoſe who had ſtaid in Italy, or who had appeared cool, or ſhewn any indifference to the cauſe; and that three billets ſhould be given to theſe judges, one for acquittance, another for condemnation, and the third for a pecuniary fine. In a † word, nothing was thought on but honours and profit, or vengeance; nor did they conſider by what method they were to conquer, but what advantage they ſhould make of victory.

The conſequence of this their manner of thinking was, that every delay became inſupportable to them; and every one was forward in blaming Pompey's really prudent management to avoid coming to action, and his endeavours to harraſs the enemy by fatigue and want of proviſions. 'Twas commonly ſaid, that he had a mind to make the moſt of his command, and to keep in a manner as his body-guards, and in a kind of ſlavery, Senators and perſons of Conſular dignity, whoſe rank entitled them to the command of nations: And in this ſenſe Domitius Ahenobarbus continually called him Agamemnon, and King of Kings. Favonius, that extravagant imitator of Cato, aſked if at leaſt for that year they might be permitted

* Non nominatim, ſed generatim proſcriptio. . . . informata. Cic. ad Att. XI. 6.

† Poſtremò omnes aut de honoribus ſuis, aut de præmiis pecuniæ, aut de perſequendis inimicis agebant; nec quibus rationibus ſuperare poſſent, ſed quemadmodum uti victoriâ deberent cogitabant. Cæs. de B. Civil. III. 83.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. to eat of the Tuſculine figs. And when they were about to impeach Afranius, for having given up Spain to Cæſar, in conſideration of a ſum of money; he ſeemed ſurprized that the managers of a proſecution of this kind againſt him, ſhould take no notice of the vender of provinces.

Plut. Pomp. & Cat. Theſe reproaches were the more ſevere, as they were not wholly without foundation; and ſelf-intereſt had ſome ſhare in this ſeeming circumſpection, and its conſequential delays. Zeal for public liberty was not Pompey's only motive; he greatly conſidered himſelf through the whole affair, and his ſcheme was to continue the Director, and perhaps the Governor of the Republic: For this reaſon he was much alarmed when he was informed of the intention of his cavalry; which being compoſed of the flower of the Roman Nobility, exhorted each other to be expeditious in the deſtruction of Cæſar, that they might the ſooner effect Pompey's ruin, and by that means eſtabliſh the Roman liberty.

This was alſo Cato's ſcheme, but he purſued it not ſo precipitately; and Pompey, who could not but know it, relied greatly on his friendſhip in caſe of a miſcarriage, but feared his reſentment, ſhould he ſucceed. This was the reaſon why he never gave him any important employ; and that, when he ſet out in purſuit of Cæſar, he left Cato at Dyrrachium with the baggage.

It muſt however be allowed in Pompey's juſtification on this laſt article, that Cato was not a fit perſon to be preſent at an engagement between fellow-citizens. He certainly did not want for courage and magnanimity; nor was any one more capable of inſpiring the troops with ardour. This he had made appear, at a time when the exhortations of Pompey and the other chiefs had proved ineffectual: For, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, he expatiated with ſuch vehemence and enthuſiaſm on liberty, on their country, on a contempt of death, and on the aſſiſtance of the Gods, protectors of juſtice, that he was interrupted

rupted by repeated acclamations. The effect of this diſcourſe was, that they performed wonders againſt the enemy, and gained the victory near Dyrrachium. Yet this ſteady man, of ſuch auſtere principles, was moſt tenderly and compaſſionately affected by the effuſion of blood of his fellow-citizens. When his exhortations had had all the ſucceſs that could be hoped for, at a time when every one rejoiced and triumphed in the victory, Cato ſhed tears; and lamenting the republic's misfortune to loſe ſo many brave citizens, murthered by each other, he wrapped his head in his mantle, and retired to his tent. This circumſtance juſtified Pompey in not taking him with him, when things ſeemed to be drawing towards a general engagement. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Another illuſtrious perſon was alſo left at Dyrrachium, whoſe abſence imported not much to affairs, and that was Cicero: He was not well; and beſides, he was of a character which rendered him rather troubleſome than uſeful in camp. He was not only timorous, and nothing of a ſoldier, but he appeared diſſatisfied, chagrined, thoughtful and melancholy at the miſtakes of his party, which were but too obvious to one of his penetration: Nor did he confine himſelf to this ſilent diſapprobation of their meaſures; but frequently in his converſation gave proof, that he repented he had ſo far engaged, and even ſometimes made ſuch ſevere reflections, as could not be very agreeable either to the ſituation of affairs, or to people's humours.

Thus, when he firſt arrived, being told he was come very late; "How late?" ſays he, "I ſee nothing in readineſs."

Mention has elſewhere been made of thoſe Allobrogian deſerters, to whom Pompey gave ſo kind a reception, as even to promiſe them the freedom of the city. This promiſe gave room for a moſt ſevere ſarcaſm of Cicero's on Pompey; "* What an extra-

* Hominem bellum! Gallis civitatem promittit alienam, nobis noſtram non poteſt reddere. MACROB. Sat. II. 3.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. "ordinary man is this! ſays he; he promiſes to introduce the Gauls into a city, which he cannot "reſtore to its own proper inhabitants."

Dolabella, Cicero's ſon-in-law, had followed Cæſar's intereſts. Pompey, intending to pique Cicero, aſk'd him, Where was his ſon-in-law? "He is," replied Cicero, "with your Father-in-law."

'Tis eaſy to judge, that theſe, and many ſuch ſayings, diſpleaſed Pompey. He complained of it, and went ſo far one time as to ſay, "* I wiſh Cicero "would go over to the enemy, that he might learn "to fear us."

Being thus diſpoſed to each other, 'tis to be believed this ſeparation gave neither of them any great uneaſineſs; but rather, that Cicero's indiſpoſition, which obliged him to ſtay at Dyrrachium, was very opportune.

However, if he and Cato had accompanied Pompey, perhaps they might have enabled him to withſtand the preſſing inſtances of all the reſt, who unanimouſly inſiſted on fighting; this might have been effected by the regard the one paid to the effuſion of his countrymen's blood, and by the timidity and diffidence of the other. For † Pompey being left alone, found himſelf too weak to oppoſe complaints and ſolicitations, which were almoſt become univerſal. He was of too generous a diſpoſition, to think of expoſing himſelf to the contempt of his friends; and tho' their common ſafety depended on it, he had not the heart to diſcontent them: This made him renounce a ſcheme dictated by prudence, to purſue a plan ſuggeſted by paſſion, and the avarice of thoſe which were

* Cupio ad hoſtes Cicero tranſeat, ut nos timeat. Id. ibid.

† Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ λέγοντες, ἄνδρα δόξης ἄγονα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ῥᾴδιον ἀσθενῆ τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐξεβιάσαντο ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐλπίσι καὶ ὁρμαῖς ἀκολουθῆσαι, πρότερον τὰς ἀρίστας λογισμὰς. ὅπερ εἰ πλοίῳ κυβερνήτης, μᾶλλον τοσούτων ἰδιωτῶν καὶ δυσμαθῶν αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ παθῶν ἦν προσέχων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἰατρῶν τὰς μαθοῦσας χαριζομένοις ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπήγαγεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ νοσούσῃ τῆς στρατιᾶς * ἐπέπαυσε, θύσας ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας λυσπρὸς γίνεσθαι. PLUT.

* The text is στρατηλάτας, but the ſenſe ſeems to require στρατιᾶς, as has been obſerved in the laſt London edition.

about

about him; "A fault not to be pardoned, ſays Plutarch, in a common pilot, how much leſs in one who had the command of ſo many legions, and of ſo many nations? That phyſician, adds he, is commended, who indulges not the irregular appetite of his patient; and yet Pompey yielded to the deſires of a ſet of people whoſe heads were apparently turned." A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Nothing could have been more ſuitable to Cæſar's inclinations. Ever ſince the armies had been in ſight of each other, he had been ſeeking an opportunity to draw on a general engagement. His troops were now no longer fatigued, and had alſo recovered from the conſternation the different actions at Dyrrachium had thrown them into; therefore his firſt ſtep was, to draw out his army in order of battle at the head of his camp: But perceiving that this had no effect on Pompey, who ſtill maintained his poſt on the eminences, he each day advanced nearer, at the ſame time taking care not to come on the very foot of the hills, leſt the enemy ſhould have too great an advantage over him, on account of their ſituation. By this conduct, which muſt be allowed to be bold, but can never be reckoned raſh, he animated and gave freſh courage to his ſoldiers, who were now convinced the enemy declined, and were afraid to come to an engagement. Cæſ.

Cæſar's cavalry was much inferior to Pompey's: he had but a thouſand horſe againſt ſeven thouſand: To obviate this inequality, he made uſe of a method, which he had ſeen practiſed by the Germans, and had been for ſome time in uſe among the Romans, on the like emergencies. He pick'd out the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt of his foot-ſoldiers, and accuſtomed them to fight betwen the ranks of his cavalry. By their aſſiſtance his thouſand horſe was a match for Pompey's ſeven thouſand; and they actually got the better in a ſkirmiſh that happened between them.

Pompey, however, ſeemed to hold his reſolution not to quit the hills, where it was impoſſible for him to be attacked. Cæſar deſpairing to draw him to a battle, reſolved to decamp, in hopes that by frequently

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. quently ſhifting his ground, he might the better be ſupplied with proviſions; and in expectation, that as the enemy would not fail following him, in the frequent marches he ſhould make, he might perhaps find an opportunity of attacking them, and forcing them to fight. Accordingly the order for marching was given, and the tents ſtruck, when Cæſar perceived that Pompey's army, which had quitted their entrenchments, had advanced further towards the plain than uſual, ſo that he might engage them at a leſs diſadvantage: Whereupon he cried aloud to his ſoldiers, "Let's no longer think of marching; now "is the time for fighting, ſo long wiſhed for; let us "not miſs the opportunity."

Pompey's real deſign was to draw on a battle, and he had no other intent in advancing. This reſolution had been taken ſome days; and he boaſted in the council of war to put Cæſar's legions to flight without ſtriking a blow: preſuming, that as ſoon as the armies ſhould be formed, his cavalry, which was exceeding good as well as numerous, by falling on the enemy's right wing, would be able to out-flank them, and ſo ſurround them; which muſt infallibly occaſion the immediate rout of that wing, and conſequently of the reſt of Cæſar's troops.

Labienus commended much this ſcheme of Pompey; and that there might be no doubt of victory, he added a very diſadvantageous deſcription of Cæſar's troops, pretending they were but the ſhadow of thoſe old legions, which had conquered Gaul and Germany; that the old ſoldiers were dead by various accidents, and had been replaced by new levies made in a hurry in Ciſalpine Gaul: Laſtly, that if Cæſar had brought into Greece any remains of his veteran troops, they muſt have periſhed in the battle of Dyrrachium. To cloſe this fine harangue, he took an oath, which he proffered to all that were preſent, never to return to camp otherwiſe than victorious. Pompey accepted it, and the reſt followed his example. This gave them great ſpirits; as if it were as eaſy to

beat an enemy, as to ſwear to do it. In this diſpoſition, and under theſe advantageous circumſtances, Pompey's troops advanced to battle. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Pompey's order of battle was good, and well judged. In the center and on the two flanks he placed all his veterans, and diſtributed the leſs expert between the wings and the main body. Scipio was in the center, with the legions he had brought out of Syria. On one wing commanded Lentulus, either he who had been Conſul the preceding year, or Spinther; on the other, Domitius Ahenobarbus. Pompey poſted himſelf on the left wing, becauſe from thence he intended to make the attack which was to gain the day; and for the ſame reaſon he had there aſſembled all his horſe, ſlingers, and archers; of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Enipeus. Cæſ. de B. Civ. l. III. Plut. Pomp. & Cæſ. Appian. Dio.

Cæſar likewiſe divided his army into three bodies, under three commanders; Domitius Calvinus being in the center, Mark Anthony on the left, and on the right P. Sylla, the ſame who many years before had been accuſed as an accomplice with Cataline, and whom Cicero defended. Cæſar took his poſt on the right, oppoſite Pompey, at the head of the tenth, his favourite legion, which had always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its bravery and affection to its General. As he obſerved the enemy's numerous horſe to be all drawn to one ſpot, he gueſs'd at Pompey's intention: to obviate which, he made a draught of ſix cohorts from his rear line, formed them into a ſeparate body, and concealed them behind his right wing; with inſtructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horſe, (as was cuſtomary with men of ſpirit, the ſooner to be able to draw their ſwords) but to keep them in their hands, and puſh them directly in the faces and eyes of the enemy; who, as they piqued themſelves on their beauty and comelineſs, would be moſt ſenſible of thoſe ſort of wounds, and the eaſier put into diſorder. He concluded by declaring to them,

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. them, that he depended principally on them for victory.

The numbers on each ſide were very unequal. I have already more than once mentioned the great ſuperiority of Pompey's cavalry. With reſpect to the infantry, Cæſar, who ſpeaks only of the Roman troops, reckons his adverſary had forty-five thouſand foot, when he himſelf had but twenty-two thouſand. The auxiliaries perhaps on each ſide exceeded the number of Romans: and this may have given riſe to the exaggerated accounts of ſome, who reckon three hundred, and others four hundred thouſand fighting men at the battle of Pharſalia. But to conſider only the national troops; what enemy, as Plutarch obſerves, could have withſtood ſeventy thouſand Romans, commanded by Cæſar and Pompey, acting with unity and harmony? and how great madneſs for ſo many thouſand citizens to turn thoſe formidable arms againſt each other, which had already conquered the better part of the world, and were capable of ſubduing the reſt?

Plut. Pom.

Perhaps theſe very reflections were made by ſome Philoſophers at that very time; but it is certain the two leaders thought quite otherwiſe: their thoughts were wholly bent on conqueſt, and they endeavoured to inſpire their ſoldiers with the like ſentiments, by the warmeſt and livelieſt exhortations. "As you have "drawn this action on yourſelves, ſaid Pompey to his "party, and would force me to fight, you conſe- "quently are anſwerable for the ſucceſs. And in- "deed, what advantages have you not over your "enemy? your numbers, your vigour, a late victory, "all aſſure a ſpeedy and eaſy conqueſt of thoſe broken "remains of legions, compoſed only of men worn out "with age, harraſſed by fatigue, already beaten, and "accuſtomed to fly before you. Above all, conſider "the juſtice of your cauſe. You are engaged in the "defence of liberty, ſupported by the laws, the Se- "nate, the flower of the Roman Knighthood, in a "word, by every perſon of rank and worth, united

Appian.

" againſt a robber and oppreſſor of his country. Shew " then on this occaſion all that ardour and deteſta- " tion of tyranny that Romans ought to be inſpired " with." A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Cæſar maintained that outward moderation, which he ſo well knew how and when to put on, and inſiſted on nothing ſo ſtrongly to his ſoldiers, as his frequent and unſucceſsful endeavours for peace. He appealed to them how many open ſteps he had taken with this only view; hoping thereby to avoid waſting the blood of his aſſociates in victory, and wiſhing to ſpare the Commonwealth the loſs of one of the armies. It is eaſy to perceive, what impreſſion a diſcourſe ſo inſinuating muſt make; they all wiſhed for fight with an ardour which was viſible in their very countenances: ſo that nothing now remained for Cæſar but to give an order for ſounding the charge, which he did accordingly. Cæſar.

An old ſoldier in his army, called Craſtinus, who had ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions, began the attack at the head of a hundred and twenty volunteers: and turning to Cæſar, " General, ſays he, this " day you ſhall be ſatisfied with my behaviour, and " whether I live or die, I will deſerve your commen- " dations." So ſaying he marched up to the enemy.

Between the two armies there was an interval ſufficient for the onſet. but Pompey had given his troops orders to keep their ground, that Cæſar's army might have all that way to come. His ſcheme was, that the enemies ranks might be broken, and themſelves put out of breath, by having ſo far to run; of which diſorder he hoped to make an advantage. Cæſar, in his Commentaries, thinks that herein Pompey committed a miſtake, and gives this good reaſon for it: That the courage of a ſoldier is animated by motion, whereas, on the contrary, reſt and inactivity abate his natural ardour.

Cæſar's ſoldiers entirely defeated Pompey's hopes by their good diſcipline and experience. For perceiving the enemy did not ſtir, they halted of their own

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. own accord in the midſt of their career, and having taken a moment's breath, put themſelves a ſecond time in motion, marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and then betook themſelves to their ſwords. The ſame method was obſerved by Pompey's troops, who vigorouſly ſuſtained the attack.

At this inſtant Pompey's horſe, accompanied by the archers and ſlingers, attacked Cæſar's, and having compelled them to give ground, began to extend themſelves to the left, in order to flank the infantry. Whereupon Cæſar gave the appointed ſignal to the ſix cohorts, who fell on the enemy with ſuch fury as to give an immediate check to this ſeeming victorious cavalry. Cæſar from time to time repeated the order he had given them, crying out, "Soldier *, ſtrike "the enemy in the face." The ſurpriſe, the glittering of the weapons in their very eyes, the horrible diſfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to ſtrike theſe young gentlemen with ſuch a panic, that inſtead of defending themſelves, they put their hands before their faces; and being preſently ſhamefully defeated, not only gave ground, but fled in great diſorder to the neighbouring mountains. The archers and ſlingers being thus abandoned were cut to pieces.

The ſix cohorts, not content with this ſucceſs, immediately attacked the enemies left wing in rear. Cæſar, perceiving the victory ſo far advanced, to complete it, brought up his third line, which till then had not engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by freſh troops, and in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer reſiſt, but fled to their camp. Thus, as Cæſar had foretold, thoſe detached cohorts were the principal means of the victory; which being no longer to be doubted, as an inſtance of his uſual clemency, he ordered quarter to be given to all the † citizens, and to kill none but foreigners: ſo that the greateſt ſlaughter was among

* Miles, feri faciem. FLOR.
† Parce civibus. FLOR.

Pompey's

Pompey's auxiliaries. The Romans, having nothing to fear, kept their ground till joined by the conquerors. This victory, whereby Cæſar became maſter of the univerſe, coſt him leſs than moſt he had gained over the Gauls. It muſt be allowed, that on this occaſion Pompey was not himſelf; and it may be aſked, What became of that famous warrior, whoſe youth had been graced by ſo many triumphs? A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

As ſoon as he ſaw his cavalry routed, he abſolutely loſt his reaſon. Inſtead of thinking how to remedy this diſorder, by rallying ſuch as fled, or by oppoſing freſh troops to ſtop the progreſs of the conquerors; diſmayed and diſpirited by this firſt blow, he returned to camp, and in his tent waited the iſſue of an event, which 'twas his buſineſs to endeavour to render favourable. There he remained for ſome moments, without ſpeaking, till being told that the camp was attacked, "What! ſays he, are we then "purſued to our very entrenchments?" And immediately quitting his armour for a habit more ſuitable to his ill fortune, he privately withdrew.

The battle laſted till noon, the weather being extremely hot: Notwithſtanding which, Cæſar's ſoldiers, encouraged by the example of their General, who thought his victory not compleat till he was maſter of the enemy's camp, boldly prepared to attack it. They quickly carried their point, ſpite of the oppoſition of the cohorts which were left for its defence; and particularly of a great number of Thracians and other Barbarians, who made a very ſtout reſiſtance. I take no notice of ſuch troops as had there ſought refuge from the field of battle; they were in too great a conſternation to think of any thing more than a ſafe retreat. Suet. Cæſ. n. 60.

Cæſar, ſeeing the field and camp ſtrewed with dead, could not but be affected by ſo melancholy a proſpect; and theſe ſentiments of humanity being ſupported by a deſire of juſtifying to himſelf and to all preſent, ſo terrible a carnage, of which he alone had been the cauſe, he ſpoke theſe words, on the teſtimony

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. mony of Aſinius Pollio, who that day fought for him: "* They would have it ſo. Notwithſtanding "his great exploits, Cæſar had been condemned, had "he not implored the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers."

On entering Pompey's camp, Cæſar perceived repeated proofs of the blind preſumption and madneſs of his adverſaries. On all ſides were to be ſeen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and ſide-boards loaded with gilt and other plate; every thing gave proofs of the higheſt luxury, and ſeemed rather the preparatives for a banquet and rejoicings on a victory than for a battle.

Cæſar's troops might here well have expected ſome reſpite; and doubtleſs the plunder of ſo rich a camp had powerful charms: but ſtill ſomething remained to be done to render the victory compleat. Some conſiderable bodies of the conquered army having retired to the adjacent mountains, Cæſar prevailed on his ſoldiers to join with him in their purſuit, in order to compel them to ſurrender. He began by incloſing them by a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a poſt, which, for want of water, was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the city of Lariſſa: Whereupon Cæſar dividing his army, left one part in Pompey's camp, ſent back another part to his own camp, and having with four legions taken a nearer road than that by which the enemy paſſed, he found means to intercept them, and after ſix miles march drew up in order of battle, between them and the city where they thought to ſhelter themſelves. However, theſe unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. Notwithſtanding Cæſar's troops muſt neceſſarily be greatly fatigued by fighting the whole day, Cæſar before night had flung up ſome works ſufficient to prevent the enemy, who ſtill maintained their poſt on the mountain, from

* Hoc voluerunt. Tantis rebus geſtis C. Cæſar condemnatus eſſem, niſi ab exercitu auxilium petiiſſem. SUET. Cæſ. n. 30.

having

having any communication with the river; as by this A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.
ſtep they were cut off from all hopes of relief or of eſcaping, they ſent deputies to the conqueror, offering to ſurrender at diſcretion. Affairs continued in this ſituation all that night, of which ſome few Senators, who had accompanied them, took the advantage to make their eſcape.

At break of day they all, by Cæſar's order, came down into the plain, and delivered up their arms; humbly imploring his goodneſs and ſuing for mercy. Cæſar ſpoke to them with great mildneſs, and to alleviate their apprehenſions, cited various inſtances of his clemency, which he had on ſo many occaſions made evident. In fact, he gave them their lives, and forbid his ſoldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them. He then ſent for the legions which had paſſed the night in camp, to relieve thoſe which had accompanied him in the purſuit; and being determined to follow Pompey, began his march, and arrived the ſame day at Lariſſa.

Cæſar's loſs in this great action was no more, by his own account, than two hundred men, (others ſay twelve hundred) and thirty captains: among theſe latter, he regretted, and particularly honoured Crastinus, whoſe gallantry and intrepidity, marching up to battle, has been taken notice of. This brave officer, fighting regardleſs of danger, received a wound in the mouth from a ſword, the point of which came out at the hind-part of his head. Cæſar cauſed his body to be ſearched for, and having dreſſed and adorned it with all military decorations, he ordered a ſeparate tomb to be made for him, thinking it not fitting that one, who had ſo well diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and ſervices, ſhould be blended with the common dead. Cæſ. Appian. Plut.

Pompey's army was compleatly defeated, the whole being deſtroyed or diſperſed. The number of the ſlain, amongſt which were forty Knights and ten Senators, is reckoned by Cæſar to amount to fifteen thouſand, as well Romans as auxiliaries; one hundred

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. and eighty colours were taken, and nine eagle Twenty four thouſand men ſurrendered themſelv after the battle, the greateſt part of which, I me the ſoldiers and ſubalterns, entered into Cæſar's ſe vice. As to the Senators and Roman Knights w fell into his hands, there is no doubt but they had l berty to retire whither they had a mind, or at le had the choice of their place of exile. Dio indee ſays, that Cæſar cauſed thoſe to be executed, wh having been once pardoned, had a ſecond time take up arms. But the authority of this incorrect writ ought not to have the preference to all other accoun which agree in commending Cæſar's clemency, a bear teſtimony of his being too noble and generous t fully his victory, by the death of any one Roman ki led in cool blood; and indeed I find but one perſo of rank named, who was killed under arms. Th was Domitius Ahenobarbus, who being overtaken b ſome horſemen, in his flight towards the mountain was killed, according to Cicero, by Anthony's order Nay Cæſar's generoſity went ſo far as to burn, with out reading, the letters which Pompey had receive from ſeveral, who, not being able or willing to follo him, were nevertheleſs glad to teſtify their inclinatio and zeal for his party. " * Although, ſays Seneca he was perfectly moderate in his anger, yet he rathe choſe to deprive himſelf of the power of reſenting He thought the moſt obliging and agreeable metho of pardoning, was to be ignorant of the nature of th offence."

Cic. Plut. II. n. 71. Plin. VII. 25. Dio.

Plut. Brut. Among ſo many acts of clemency, there was one a leaſt to which he willingly conſented, and he certainl made no difficulty in pardoning Brutus. He had particular affection for that young Roman, from th probability, as I have ſaid elſewhere, of his being hi ſon; and he always preſerved a great eſteem for hi mother Servilia, even after all intrigue had ceas'd be

* Quamvis moderatè ſoleret iraſci, maluit tamen non poſſe. Gra tiſſimum putavit genus veniæ, neſcire quid quiſque peccaſſet. Sen de Ira, II. 23.

twee

tween them. He carried this affection for Brutus ſo far, as to recommend to his ſoldiers when they were going to action, not to kill him on any account; to make him priſoner in caſe he was willing to ſurrender, but if he refuſed, to give him his liberty. Brutus, who had fled from Pompey's camp to Lariſſa, wrote to Cæſar from thence; who was extremely pleaſed at hearing from him, and ordered him to wait his coming. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

The Princes and foreign nations, who had taken the party oppoſite to Cæſar's, no leſs experienced his mildneſs; all thoſe who implored his mercy got off for a ſum of money, or ſome ſuch fine. It even coſt the Athenians leſs, whom, when their deputies came to ſollicit their pardon, he was content to reproach in the following manner: "How long," ſaid he, "having merited death by your degeneracy, will you owe your ſafety to the glory of your anceſtors?"

So great an event as the battle of Pharſalia could not fail being decorated by ſome account of prodigies, omens and other marvellous circumſtances, the effect of the ſuperſtition of thoſe early times. I ſhall make no mention of many trifling obſervations, but think there are two remarkable facts, the one related by Cicero, the other on the teſtimony of T. Livy, which ought not to be omitted. Cic. de Divin. I. 68, 69. II. 114.

Cicero relates, that whilſt he was at Dyrrachium, a rower in the fleet which the Rhodians ſent to Pompey's aſſiſtance foretold, that in leſs than thirty days there would be a deluge of blood in Greece; that Dyrrachium would be precipitately abandoned; that all the proviſions in the city would be plundered and deſtroyed; that in their flight they would have the diſmal proſpect of cities in flames, and that the fleet itſelf would return to Rhodes. Cicero was informed of this prediction before the event; as were alſo Varro and Cato, by Coponius the Rhodian Admiral, a man of ſenſe and education. A few days after Lænus came from Pharſalia to Dyrrachium with an

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

account of Pompey's defeat, and all the circumſtances attending this misfortune, which exactly confirmed the Rhodian rower's predictions.

'Tis not to be denied but that at firſt view there is ſomething aſtoniſhing in the account of this prediction; but on a nearer examination, Cicero himſelf accounts for it very naturally: "We all know, ſays he, that the two armies were in ſight of each other in the plains of Theſſaly, and were greatly apprehenſive for the ſucceſs. This apprehenſion, without doubt, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the rower's ſpirits, and diſturbed his reaſon. Is it then to be wondered, that what he feared might happen when he was in his ſenſes, he ſhould preſuppoſe in a fit of lunacy?"

Plut. Cæſ. A. Gell. XV. 18. Dio.

The other fact, related by Plutarch and ſome other writers on the teſtimony of T. Livy, is ſtill more extraordinary. In Padua, a certain C. Cornelius, who had the reputation of great ſkill in the pretended ſcience of augury, being actually buſied in conſulting birds, knew the preciſe time of the battle, and told the byſtanders, that that inſtant he was ſpeaking, the two armies were engaged; then proceeding in his obſervations, he on a ſudden roſe up briſkly and cried with a loud voice, "Cæſar, thou art conqueror." Every one preſent was under the greateſt aſtoniſhment: whereupon Cornelius, taking the chaplet which he wore from off his head, ſwore never to put it on again till the exact and literal accompliſhment of his predictions had juſtified the rules of his art. Livy was Cornelius's countryman, and was well acquainted with him, and, as we are told by Plutarch, poſitively affirmed the fact.

Permit me here to obſerve, in the firſt place, that we have not this account from the firſt hand; and that Plutarch, though otherwiſe an author of great credit, not being here the original, may, through inattention, have either altered or omitted ſome circumſtances which might entirely vary the caſe. In the ſecond place, Livy, whom Plutarch has followed in this relation, was but in his eleventh year when the

thing

thing happened, which takes much from the credit of his teſtimony. In fine, I think it no ways repugnant to the ſyſtem of the Chriſtian religion to ſuppoſe, that the devils, whom God has ſometimes permitted to effect wonders, to delude ſuch as took a pleaſure in being impoſed on, ſhould have brought from one country to another, however diſtant, the knowledge of facts the inſtant they happened. This ſeems to be the beſt and only way of accounting for many like events, which it would be difficult abſolutely to deny. The ſcattered remains of Pompey's party, after their defeat at Pharſalia, ſpread themſelves almoſt over the whole earth; but he himſelf, as their chief, deſerves our firſt attention. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Pompey, who had made his eſcape from the camp with few attendants, went off at firſt full ſpeed; but perceiving he was not purſued, he * ſlackened his pace, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt melancholy reflections. And in truth what muſt be the thoughts of a man, who after thirty-four years conſtant ſucceſs, in his old age was for the firſt time made ſenſible of the diſgrace of being defeated and put to flight? How many conflicts, what wars had he not engaged in, to attain that point of glory and power, which he that inſtant fell from? What an alteration in his circumſtances! One moment, he appeared eſcorted by an infinite number of men and horſes, and attended by a numerous fleet; and the next he retreats, in ſo mean a condition, and with ſo few followers, as even to eſcape the ſearch of his enemies. Plut. Pom.

Full of theſe afflicting ideas, Pompey arrived at Lariſſa; thence paſſing through the vale of Tempe, and purſuing the courſe of the river Peneus, he found

* Λύπης καὶ ἀσυχίαν, ἐν διαλογισμοῖς ὤν, οἵας εἰκὸς ἔλαβεν ἄνθρωπον ἔτη τέτταρα καὶ τριάκοντα τοῖς καιροῖς ἀπάντων εὐδοκιμήσαντα, ὕστερος δὲ καὶ φυγὰς τότε πρῶτον γενόμενος καμηλάτην πεῖραν· ἐννοούμενος δὲ ἐξ ὅσων ἀρχόντων καὶ πολέμων ἠυξημένην ἀποβλέπων ἄρα μίαν δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν * ἐπὶ πολὺ μικρῷ τισὶ συνόντας ὁπλίταις καὶ ἵπποις, καὶ σπουδὴν ἀφιέμενον καὶ ἀπέρχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς διώκοντας ἢ συνεξαλμένος ἤδη λανθάνειν ζητοῦντας τὸ σκληρόν. PLUT.

* There ſeems here to be ſomething wanting in the text; but the ſenſe is clear,

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

a fiſherman's hut, in which he paſſed the night. At day-break he went on board a little bark, with ſuch of his attendants as were freemen, but ſent back the ſlaves that had hitherto accompanied him. This enabled him to get to ſea; and keeping under the ſhore, as there was no venturing out to ſea in ſo ſmall a veſſel, he deſcry'd a ſhip of ſome burthen, which ſeemed preparing to ſail. The maſter of this ſhip, who was a Roman, and was called Peticius, Plutarch tells us had dreamt, that he ſaw Pompey come to him in a mean and ſad plight. As he was relating this dream to ſome company, a ſailor came to let him know that he deſcry'd a bark, from whence ſignals were made to bring to. Peticius had no ſooner looked that way, than he knew Pompey by the deſcription he had had of him in his dream. He ſmote his head through deſpair, and having ſent his long-boat for him, took him on board, together with the two Lentulus's and Favonius. He immediately weighed anchor, but ſoon after made for ſhore, to take in Dejotarus King of Galatia, who hailed him, and made ſignals to be received.

The maſter prepared as good an entertainment for theſe illuſtrious fugitives, as his circumſtances would admit of. When 'twas time to ſerve up, it being cuſtomary with the Romans to bathe, before they ſat down to table, Favonius obſerved, that Pompey, for want of ſlaves, was waſhing himſelf; whereupon he made what haſte he could to him, and no ways apprehenſive of diſgracing the dignity of the Prætorſhip, which he had officiated, he then, and ever after during the voyage, rendered him the ſame offices, and waited upon him, as his ſlave; and that with ſo frank and noble an air, that ſome one who ſaw him, made him the application of a Greek verſe, the ſignification of which is: "† Doubtleſs it may well be ſaid that every thing becomes perſons of high birth."

† Φίλ', τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἅπαν καλόν.

Pompey,

Pompey, being come before Amphipolis, would not enter the city, but iſſued a proclamation enjoining all the youth of the province to join him in arms; perhaps with intent to conceal his real deſign of retreating much further, or may be, to try if he could not maintain his ground in Macedonia. Here he lay one night at anchor, ſending to what friends he had in the town, and raiſing all the money he poſſibly could. But being informed of Cæſar's approach, he departed with all expedition, and went to * Mitylene, where he had left his wife Cornelia, far from the clamour of war and arms. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. Emboli. Cæſ.

Cornelia expected the news of a compleat victory, and had been induced to think ſo from the flattering accounts ſhe had received, that the battles of Dyrrachium had decided the affair. She imagined that Pompey had nothing more to do, than to purſue Cæſar who was no longer able to face him. Such were her expectations, when a meſſenger arrived, who not having ſpirits to pay her the uſual compliment, and whoſe tears, more than his words, proclaimed the greatneſs of their misfortunes, adviſed her to diſpatch, if ſhe was willing to ſee Pompey with but one ſhip, and even that not his own. At theſe words, Cornelia, whoſe grief became more violent, as being unexpected, fainted away, and lay a conſiderable time without any ſigns of life. At length recovering herſelf, and reflecting 'twas not then the proper time to indulge her ſorrows, ſhe ran quite through the city to the ſea-ſide. Pompey received her in his arms, without ſpeaking a word, and thus ſupporting her, prevented her falling into a ſecond fit.

Cornelia, in her deſpair, imputed to herſelf her huſband's miſcarriage. "The condition I find you "in," ſaid ſhe, "I can † never perſuade myſelf to

* Capital city of the iſland of Lesbos, now called Metelia.

† Οἰῶ σε ἄνερ, ἐ τῆς σῆς τύχης ἴχνος ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς. προσῤῥύμενον ἐν σκάφει, τὸν πρὸ τῶν Κορνηλίας γάμων πενταετείαις ναυσὶ ταυτὸν παραπλώσαντα τὴν θάλασσαν. Τί μὲ λάθες ἰδεῖν, ἢ κακὰ ἀφέλκυσε τῷ βροτῷ δαίμονι τὴν ἢ σὲ δυσυχίας ἀναπλώσασαν τοσαύτης; Ὡς εὐτυχὴς μὲν ἂν ἦμεν γυνὴ, πρὶν τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐν Παφίοις ἀκοῦσαι τὸν πόρθητον ὀλέσαι κείμενον· ἀπιθανῶσα συφορὰν δ', μᾶλ' ἑκοῦσαν ὥσπερ ὥρμησα, τὸν ἐμαυτῆς πρόμνην ἰδεῖν. Εσαζόμην δ' ἄρα ἢ Πομπηίῳ Μόνῳ συμφορὰ γένεσθαι.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

" be the effect of your fortune, which has ever been " favourable, but rather of mine, which never ceaſes " perſecuting me. You are reduced to fly with a " ſingle veſſel; you, who before you wedded Cor- " nelia, appeared on theſe ſeas commanding five hun- " dred ſail. Why came you in ſearch of an unfortu- " nate wretch, why did you not rather leave me to " my ill-fortune, which I now muſt put you under " the neceſſity of ſharing with me? Ah! I ſhould " have been happy, had I died before my firſt huſ- " band, young Craſſus, periſhed in the Parthian war; " and I had done well, after that loſs, to have quitted, " as was then my deſign, this miſerable life! But " 'twas neceſſary I ſhould ſurvive that misfortune, " and I was fatally reſerved to introduce into Pom- " pey's family the ill luck that conſtantly attends " me."

Pompey endeavoured to comfort her, by inſtancing the uncertainty of human affairs. " The conſtant " ſucceſs, which has hitherto attended me, has de- " ceived you. You relied on the continuance of that " ſucceſs; not reflecting that † nothing is fixed or " certain to us weak mortals. 'Tis from this very " uncertainty that I am induced once more to try my " fortune. Since I am fallen from ſo great a height, " to the low condition you ſee me in; why may I " not from my preſent lowneſs, remount to that gran- " deur which I enjoyed ſo many years?"

The Mityleneans, who had great obligations to Pompey, came and paid him the compliment of inviting him into their city; he declined their invitation, and even adviſed them to ſubmit to the conqueror; adding, with a moderation becoming his great ſoul, that they need be under no apprehenſions, for Cæſar was remarkable for his goodneſs and humanity.

† Ταῦτα διὰ φύσιν γινομένας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τῆς τύχης ὄντι πειρᾶσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνίλπιστον ἐκ τούτων ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκεῖνα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐν τούτοις γενόμενον.

Cratip-

Cratippus the philoſopher came alſo to pay him his compliments. Pompey, as it is but too frequent with perſons under misfortunes, complained to him of Providence. The Philoſopher, being a man of genius who knew the world, declined entering minutely into the matter, to avoid ſaying ſome diſagreeable truths at a time when, in common humanity, he ought only to think of adminiſtring relief to his misfortunes. He therefore artfully changed the converſation, and talked to Pompey of what might give him better hopes. Had it been neceſſary, ſays Plutarch, to enter into an examination of the point in queſtion, Cratippus might eaſily have ſaid in anſwer to Pompey's complaints, that the ill government of Rome had need of abſolute monarchy, as a neceſſary remedy: "And which way will you prove, might he have ſaid to him, that you would have made a better uſe of ſucceſs, than Cæſar perhaps may do?" This is a very judicious reflection of Plutarch, and that with which he concludes is ſtill more ſo. "* Let's forbear this ſubject; whatever concerns the Divinity is beyond our comprehenſion, and ought to admit of no diſpute." A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Pompey, having taken Cornelia with him, continued his flight, ſteering towards the South-eaſt, and ſtopping no longer than was neceſſary to take in proviſions at the ports that occurred in his paſſage. He came before Rhodes; but the Rhodians, who had ſent him a noble fleet during his proſperity, would no longer acknowledge him, now he was become unfortunate. He therefore proceeded on his voyage, and the firſt city he entered was Attalia in Pamphilia. He was there joined by ſome ſhips of war, and he found means to collect about two thouſand ſoldiers; he had alſo the ſatisfaction to find, that his youngeſt ſon Sextus and about ſixty Senators, who had at firſt been ſeparated in their flight, were united there, and had formed an aſſociation to ſupport their Chief.

Here he alſo got ſome intelligence of his fleet, which he had left in the Ionian ſea. He was informed, that

* Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐᾶσθαι βέλτιον ἴσως τὰ τῶν θεῶν.

'twas

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. 'twas ſtill united under the command of Cato, who, with a conſiderable force, was making for Africa. This occaſioned Pompey to make many bitter reflections, which were but too well grounded. He lamented his having been compelled to leave the deciſion of his fortunes to his land-army, inſtead of employing his naval forces, wherein he had inconteſtably the advantage of his enemies; and he thought himſelf ſtill leſs excuſable, not to have taken the precaution of keeping near his fleet, where, even after a defeat on land, he might at once have found an expedient to his ill ſucceſs, and a force ſufficient to check the conqueror's progreſs. Certainly, in the opinion of Plutarch, Pompey could not have committed a greater miſtake, than in ſeparating from his fleet: nor could Cæſar have given a ſtronger inſtance of his addreſs, than in reducing his adverſary to that neceſſity.

I have already ſaid that Pompey had aſſembled ſome ſoldiers, he had likewiſe raiſed ſome money. But theſe aſſiſtances ſerved only to facilitate his flight, not being ſufficient to make any defence againſt Cæſar, from whoſe known and almoſt incredible activity, Pompey was in continual apprehenſions of a ſurpriſe. As he had need of an aſylum, where he might have time to recover himſelf, and leiſure to make freſh preparations; he did not think any of the provinces of the empire proper for his purpoſe, or by any means tenable: he had every day freſh experience how ill a reception his misfortunes procured him there; and he had juſt received advice, that the people of Antioch had decreed, on mature deliberation, not to receive him, or any in his intereſt. His only remaining hope was from the Kings in alliance with and bordering on the empire. Pompey was himſelf inclined to retire to the Parthians. Others propoſed King Juba. But Theophanes, whoſe advice Pompey had ever paid great attention to, made no doubt in giving Egypt the preference, which was not very diſtant, and whoſe young King would certainly reſpect Pompey, as the tutor appointed him by the Senate,

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and as his father's benefactor. Beſides, his age (he being then but thirteen years old, an age of mildneſs and innocence, too early to be acquainted with guile) appeared to Theophanes a further reaſon for confiding in him. On the other hand, he diſtruſted the Parthians, alledging their perfidy, of which Craſſus had had fatal experience; and their brutal incontinence, to which it would be by no means proper to expoſe a perſon of Cornelia's youth and virtue, whoſe reputation would ſuffer by only living among people of ſuch a character. This laſt conſideration principally determined Pompey; whereupon the fatal reſolution was taken of going to Egypt. Accordingly he left Cilicia, attended by a number of gallies and tranſports, and touched at the iſle of Cyprus, probably to take in ſome additional reinforcement; where being informed that Ptolemy was at Peluſium, he ſteered thither his courſe. On his arrival he caſt anchor, and ſent to acquaint the young King of it, and to demand a ſafe reception. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Ptolemy, who was yet a minor, had not the government in his own hands: but he and his kingdom were under the direction of miniſters. Pothinus an eunuch, who was then prime miniſter, immediately aſſembled the council, whoſe principal members, and who were moſt in credit, were Theodotus of the iſle of Chio, maſter of rhetoric to the young Prince, and Achillas, commander in chief of his forces. Such were the judges to whoſe deciſion Pompey ſubmitted his fate: that ſame Pompey, who thought it mean and baſe to owe his ſafety to Cæſar.

The opinions were divided in the council. Gratitude and pity inclined ſome to receive him; whilſt others, more obdurate, or more timorous, were for denying his requeſt, and for forbidding his coming into Egypt. Theodotus the rhetorician, as if he had a mind to improve the preſent occaſion to diſplay his eloquence, maintained, "that both propoſals were equally dangerous. That to admit him, was making Pompey their maſter, and drawing on them Cæſar's reſent-

A.R. 704. Ant. C. 48. reſentment: and by not receiving him, they offended the one, without obliging the other. That therefore the only expedient left, was to give him leave to land, and then kill him: which would be doing Cæſar ſervice, and ridding them of any future apprehenſions on Pompey's account." Nay this rhetorician, whilſt he was thus condemning to death the principal man in the world, thought it even allowable to joke on the occaſion. For he concluded his diſcourſe with a trite proverb among the Greeks: "Dead dogs don't bite."

An advice ſo horrid in all its circumſtances was, however, applauded; nay more, Achillas undertook the execution of it. He took with him Septimius, by birth a Roman, and who had formerly been a Centurion in Pompey's troops, another Roman Centurion named Salvius, and three or four guards, and getting into a bark, made ſail for Pompey's ſhip.

All the perſons of rank who had accompanied Pompey in his flight, were on this occaſion come on board his ſhip to be witneſſes of what paſſed. But when they ſaw, in lieu of the magnificent reception Theophanes had flattered them with, a ſorry fiſhing-boat, having on board five or ſix perſons of no very promiſing aſpect, they began to have ſome ſuſpicions, and adviſed Pompey to return back. Before any thing could be determined, Achillas was come up to them; and at the ſame time the King's ſhips were ſeen making preparations for ſailing, and the whole ſtrand appeared lined with ſoldiers, ſo that it was too late to retreat; and for them at that juncture to have ſhewn any diffidence, would have only helped the Egyptians to a pretence, in caſe they had any bad intentions. Pompey therefore was determined to run all hazards.

On their coming on board, Septimius ſaluted him in Latin as his General. At the ſame time Achillas, ſpeaking to him in Greek, invited him into the boat, becauſe, ſaid he, the ſhallows prevented any galley's coming up to the ſhore. After Pompey had taken his

his leave of Cornelia, who wept before-hand for her husband's death, he ordered two centurions, one of his freedmen named Philip, and a ſlave, to enter the boat before him; and as Achillas gave him his hand to aſſiſt him in coming out of the ſhip, he turned to his wife and ſon, and repeated two verſes of Sophocles, which he applied but too naturally to the preſent occaſion: ſignifying, that "* whoever goes to a King's court, immediately commences his ſlave, how free ſoever he might be when he entered." Theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke to them. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

The paſſage was pretty long from the ſhip to land: and as during all that time, nobody ſpake to him a ſingle word, or ſhewed him the leaſt mark of friendſhip or reſpect, Pompey had a mind to break the ſilence; and looking Septimius in the face, "Me-"thinks," ſaid he, "I remember you to have for-"merly ſerved under me." Septimius gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or inſtancing the leaſt civility. Whereupon Pompey took out a paper, on which he had minuted a ſhort Greek ſpeech he intended to make to Ptolemy, and began reading it.

In this manner they came near land: and Cornelia, whoſe concern had never ſuffered her to loſe ſight of her huſband, began to conceive hopes, when ſhe perceived the people on the ſtrand in a good deal of motion, as if they crouded to receive him. That inſtant, as Pompey roſe, ſupporting himſelf on his freedman's arm, Septimius ſtabbed him in the back, and was immediately ſeconded by Salvius and Achillas. Pompey perceiving himſelf thus beſet, covered his face with his robe, and without ſaying, or doing any thing unworthy of himſelf, he with a ſigh reſigned himſelf to fate. At this ſpectacle, Cornelia and her attendants uttered the moſt piercing lamentations, ſo as to be heard to the very ſhore. But the danger they

* Ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
Κἂν ᾖ τὸ πρὶν ἐλεύθερος, μολὼν δοῦλος.

them-

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. themſelves were in allowed them little leiſure for their ſorrows, and 'twas neceſſary for them to ſeek their ſafety in their flight. They therefore immediately weighed anchor, and the wind proving favourable, they eſcaped the purſuit of the Egyptian galleys.

Vol. II. 53. Dio. Pompey, at the time he was killed, compleated his fifty-eighth year. His death happened the day preceding his birth-day, to wit, on the twenty-eighth of September; which day he had ſome years before paſſed in a very different ſituation, in honourable triumph on the reduction of the Pyrates, and the defeat of King Mithridates.

I ſhall not expatiate on the many reflections, which naturally ariſe from the circumſtance of a ſhameful death terminating a life ſpent with honour and in great ſplendor. I ſhall only obſerve, that of the three famous aſſociates, who, to ſatisfy their boundleſs ambition, formed the triumviral league, Pompey is the ſecond, whoſe death has paid the forfeit of his ambition; nor will Cæſar long defer paying the third tribute.

I have endeavoured to draw Pompey's character from his actions, and the better to make it known, have made uſe of ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me in the ancient writers, particularly in Cicero and Plutarch. 'Twould therefore be a needleſs repetition, if here I ſhould undertake to relate the portrait; permit me only to recollect one ſingle circumſtance, which is, the integrity of his manners, and the moderation and decorum which always regulated his conduct. A virtue rarely to be met with in ſo corrupt an age, and under ſuch an affluence of fortune; but which, ſuch as know how to prize merit, can never enough eſteem. And this is the character Cicero beſtows on him, in the account he ſends Atticus of his death. "I am * not ſurprized, ſays he, at the tragi-

Cic. ad Att. xi. 6.

* De Pompeii exitu mihi dubium nunquam fuit. Tanta enim deſperatio rerum ejus omnium regum & populorum animos occuparat,

cal

cal end of Pompey. Every King and all people imagined his affairs ſo deſperate, that I ſhould have expected the like event, wherever he had chanced to have fled. However, I can't forbear lamenting his fall; having always known him for a man highly reſpectable for the integrity, purity, and dignity of his morals." A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

This moderation appeared in the tranſaction of all public affairs, and prevented, even where his ambition ſoared the higheſt, his carrying things to extremities, confining him in the end within the wholeſome maxims of Ariſtocracy. Pompey was not only the obſerver, but the protector and ſupport of the laws; and when he took up arms againſt Cæſar, he had this particular honour, that his cauſe was eſteemed the cauſe of the Senate and of the Commonwealth. He even left behind him an impreſſion of eſteem and veneration for his memory, which procured him partizans after his death, and alienated and converted into enemies of his rival, ſeveral who had been the moſt ſtrongly attached to his intereſt.

With reſpect to his military talents and his conduct in command, notwithſtanding I find many perſons prejudiced againſt him on that head, I dare not deny his merit as a General, who, from the twenty-fourth year of his life to the forty-fifth, conquered every enemy that appeared before him, and who has filled Africa, Spain, Aſia, and the whole Mediterranean with the trophies of his victories. His misfortune was to have had to contend with Cæſar, in whoſe preſence all military merit, however ſplendid in itſelf, is eclipſed and loſes its luſtre.

Pompey's murderers having cut off his head, cauſed it to be embalmed, the better to preſerve its features, deſigning it as a preſent to Cæſar, for which they expected to receive a conſiderable recompence. The body was thrown naked on the ſtrand, and expoſed

ut, quocunque veniſſet, hoc putarem futurum. Non poſſum ejus caſum non dolere: hominem enim integrum, & caſtum, & gravem cognovi.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. to the view of all whoſe curioſity led them that way. However, his faithful freed-man Philip forſook it not; but, when the crowd was a little diſperſed, he waſhed it with ſea-water, and wrapp'd it up in one of his own tunics. The next thing to be conſidered was how to burn it, according to the Roman cuſtom. When Philip, looking round him, perceived the wreck of a fiſhing-boat, half rotten; of which he compoſed a mean miſerable pile; but ſufficient, ſays Plutarch, for a naked, lopped, carcaſe.

Whilſt he was thus employed, he was accoſted by a Roman, ſettled in Egypt, a man advanced in years, who had learned his firſt military ſervice under Pompey. "Who are you," ſays he to Philip, "who "are diſpoſed to perform the laſt offices to Pompey "the Great?" Philip having told him the rank he bore in life; "You ſhall not enjoy this honour alone," replied the old ſoldier; "permit me to ſhare with "you, as a piece of good fortune, the opportunity of "performing this act of humanity. Nor need I now "abſolutely repine at my foreign eſtabliſhment, which, "though in many reſpects very irkſome, has at leaſt "procured me the advantage of aſſiſting at the obſe-"quies of the firſt of Romans." In this manner was Pompey buried.

His aſhes, being collected by theſe two men, were buried under a little riſing earth, ſcraped together with their hands, and ſomebody placed there the following inſcription: "* He, who deſerved to have temples erected to his memory, has with difficulty found a tomb." Nevertheleſs ſtatues were afterwards erected, round this mean ſepulchre, to the honour of Pompey; but in proceſs of time, the ſand, which the ſea left on the ſhore, buried the tomb; and the ſtatues being injured by time and the inclemency of the air, were lodged in an adjacent temple; until the Emperor Adrian, in his voyage to Egypt, had the curio-

* Τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι * πόνη σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβυ.

* This word is not very clear. I have given the thought, without pretending to ſhew the literal meaning of the expreſſion.

ſity

ſity to ſeek out the place, where the aſhes of this great man were depoſited; which as ſoon as he had found, he cauſed it to be cleanſed, and having repaired it, and made the way to it practicable, he replaced the ſtatues. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Theſe laſt circumſtances concerning Pompey's tomb, you have on the teſtimony of Appian. According to Plutarch, care was taken to convey the aſhes of her beloved ſpouſe to Cornelia, who lodged them in her country-houſe of Alba. If ſo, Pompey's tomb in Egypt was no more than a cenotaph.

Egypt was no leſs fatal to L. Lentulus, Conſul of the preceding year. He had followed Pompey at ſome diſtance, and arriving the day after his death, he perceived a little pile, which yet ſmoked; "Who is "the wretch," ſays he, "to whom are paid theſe "laſt offices? Perhaps, alas! added he, 'tis you, "great Pompey!" Immediately on his landing, he was ſeized by the King's guards, impriſoned, and there put to death.

We have followed Pompey from his defeat at Pharſalia to his unhappy end. 'Tis now neceſſary to give ſome account of his fleet, and what different intereſts were purſued by the moſt illuſtrious of thoſe, who had marched under his banners.

I have already mentioned that his magazines were at Dyrrachium, and that Cato had the command of the troops appointed to guard them. Cicero, the learned Varro, and ſome other Senators, had likewiſe, for various reaſons, repaired to the ſame place. It muſt be ſuppoſed, that the account of the battle of Pharſalia ſpread a general conſternation among the Romans, in that city. They all agreed upon flight; but they had not all the ſame views. Cato, ever humane, ever faithful to his engagements, was reſolved, on a ſuppoſition of Pompey's death, to reconduct thoſe that were with him into Italy, and then to go into a voluntary exile, as far as poſſible from tyrants and tyranny: But if Pompey was ſtill alive, he thought himſelf under an obligation of preſerving him Plut. Cat. & Cic. Appian. Dio. Lucan. IX.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

the troops he had received from him, and which he commanded in his name. Cicero's only thoughts were how to procure himſelf eaſe and tranquillity in Italy, under the conqueror's protection. Labienus, who had fled from the battle directly to Dyrrachium, propoſed to continue, if poſſible, and renew the war; and many more were of his way of thinking. They even pretended to diſpute Cæſar's victory, aſſerting that 'twas not ſo compleat as was imagined: But Cicero ſtopped their mouths by ſome railleries, which, the uneaſy ſituation he was in contributed to make more ſevere. However, they all went to join the fleet, whoſe general rendezvous was at the iſle of Corcyra. At the ſame place, aſſembled the Commodores of the ſeveral ſquadrons, which had been detached on any enterprize; among others, one Caſſius, not he who afterwards conſpired againſt Cæſar, and the eldeſt ſon of Pompey. But this laſt brought not with him the Egyptian ſhips he had had under his command; being forſaken by them, as ſoon as they heard of his father's defeat.

A council being held, Cato, an ever ſcrupulous obſerver of the laws, even in circumſtances where they had no longer the power to make themſelves reſpected, gave up the command of the fleet to Cicero, who had not yet declared his intention to retire. In fact Cicero was Conſular, whereas Cato had never been more than Prætor; and further he ſtill kept the title and power of Proconſul, conferred on him when he ſet out for Cilicia, and which he had not loſt, becauſe he had never from that time entered Rome. But nothing could leſs ſuit his then manner of thinking, than the idea of making uſe of this power; and inſtead of accepting the command which was offered him, he * frankly declared, that in his opinion 'twas not enough to lay aſide their arms, they ought to throw them away.

* Quum ego ... poſt Pharſalicum prælium ſuaſor fuiſſem armorum non deponendorum, ſed abjiciendorum. Cic. pro Dejot. n. 29.

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This diſcourſe raiſed the indignation of thoſe, who ſtill continued zealous for the cauſe; particularly young Pompey went ſo far as to draw his ſword upon Cicero, whom he branded with the epithets of deſerter and traytor; and had certainly run him through, had not Cato interpoſed, and prevented a violence, equally brutal and unjuſt. Cicero, preſerved by Cato from ſo imminent danger, went to Brunduſium, where he was conſtrained to wait a long time for Cæſar's orders and return, whom the affairs in Egypt gave very ſerious employment to for ſeveral months: But of this more hereafter. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Cicero's abode at Brunduſium, was one of the moſt melancholy and humiliating periods of his life, being all the while agitated by the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions, in a ſtate of dependance, having no hopes but from the perſon againſt whom he had been carrying on a war, and having reaſon to fear, leſt the party he had juſt deſerted, ſhould be in a condition a ſecond time to make head. He made his ſituation ſtill more intolerable, as he had done during his exile, by a number of reflections, each more bitter than the other: in vain regretting the time paſt, under cruel apprehenſions for the future, diſſatisfied with his own proceedings, and eſteeming thoſe happier and wiſer, who had purſued a conduct different from his own. Cic. ad Att. xi.

How oppoſite was his character to that of Cato! He, ſteady to his reſolutions, incapable of repenting of a good action, and having nothing to reproach himſelf with, calmly put in execution what he had before determined, and with the greateſt part of the fleet, went in queſt of Pompey, whoſe unhappy end he was yet ignorant of; whilſt Metellus Scipio, and the Caſſius I have mentioned, ſet out to try what diſtant ſuccours they could raiſe, and to endeavour to re-eſtabliſh their party; the one, by the aſſiſtance of Juba King of Mauritania; the other, by rouſing the courage of Pharnaces King of Pontus, to raiſe up in him a freſh enemy to Cæſar.

A. R. 704 Ant. C. 48. Cato conjectured that Libya or Egypt were the propereſt places for Pompey to ſeek protection in. He therefore made ſail for thoſe countries, in his paſſage permitting as many to retire as ſhewed any inclination to quit the party, and even landing them at the places where they ſeemed deſirous to go. He ſtopped at the City of Patræ, where he picked up Fauſtus Sylla, Petreius, and ſome other fugitives from Pharſalia. Then doubling the cape of Malea, and coaſting the iſle of Crete, he came to Palinurus, a promontory of the Cyrenaica. There he firſt heard of Pompey's death, by his ſon Sextus and by Cornelia: Theſe had at firſt fled to the iſle of Cyprus, but finding themſelves too near Egypt, and fearing leſt they might by chance meet with Cæſar, ſteered towards the Weſt, and were by the winds drove to the ſame place where Cato had halted.

Hodie Patras.

Dio.

The news of this unhappy event occaſioned a freſh diviſion amongſt Cato's followers. Many who were attached perſonally to Pompey, and had hitherto held out in hopes of ſeeing him again at their head, imagining all their engagements broke by his death, determined to have recourſe to the conqueror's clemency. Cato, whoſe deſign was to conſtrain no body, gave them full permiſſion to retire, and accordingly they diſperſed themſelves, wherever their intereſt or acquaintance directed them, till their pardon could be obtained.

Cic. ad Fam. XV. 15. Dio. C. Caſſius, who afterwards killed Cæſar, was at this time one of thoſe who thought it adviſeable not to contend with fortune. He went in ſearch of the conqueror; but miſſing him, ſtaid ſome time at Rhodes. By this time the Alexandrian war was commenced, and the perplexity and danger Cæſar was then in, were ſtrong motives for Caſſius to waver in his deſign. However, victory determined him; and he got himſelf introduced to Cæſar, where he met with a favourable reception, being ſupported by the recommendation of Brutus, whoſe ſiſter he had married.

Many

Many others, who either deſpaired of pardon, or from a more generous motive, were reſolved to ſtand up in the defence of liberty to the laſt drop of their blood, declared to Cato, that they were determined to follow and obey him, if he would accept of the command. This was not his firſt ſcheme, being deſirous to be no longer concerned in civil feuds, and had therefore determined on a very remote retirement. But he made a ſcruple of abandoning, in a ſtrange country, ſo many brave perſons, whoſe ſole dependance was on his protection: He therefore complied with their requeſts; and no ſooner appeared before Cyrene, than he was readily received, though but few days before the inhabitants of that city had ſhut their gates againſt Labienus. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. Plut. Brut.

Cornelia returned into Italy, well knowing ſhe had nothing to apprehend from Cæſar. Pompey's two ſons remained with Cato. We ſhall ſee hereafter in what manner theſe remains of the vanquiſhed party renewed the war in Africa, and expoſed the conqueror to freſh fatigues and freſh dangers. For the preſent let us return to Cæſar, whom we left at Lariſſa, preparing to purſue Pompey.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTY-FIFTH.

CONtaining Cæſar's war in Egypt, and with Pharnaces. The Illyrican war. Particular facts. The ſtate of Rome during Cæſar's abſence and at his return. Anno Romæ 704, 705.

SECT. I.

Cæſar purſues Pompey. Comes in ſight of Alexandria, and is preſented with his enemy's head. He weeps. He enters Alexandria, where he finds the people irritated againſt him. Is there detained by contrary winds. Takes into conſideration the difference betwixt the King of Egypt and Cleopatra his ſiſter. The cauſe of this miſunderſtanding. Diſcontent of the Egyptian miniſters, particularly of the eunuch Pothinus. Cleopatra comes to Alexandria, and is introduced to Cæſar. Their adulterous commerce. Cæſar declares Ptolemy and Cleopatra jointly King and Queen of Egypt. Achillas with the Royal army comes to beſiege Cæſar in Alexandria. Firſt battle. A fire conſumes the greateſt part of the Alexandrian library. The war continued. Cæſar cauſes Pothinus to be aſſaſſinated. He is a ſecond time appointed Dictator. Arſinoë, Cleopatra's ſiſter, having intro-

introduced herſelf into Achillas's camp, procures his death. The war carried on under the direction of the eunuch Ganimed. Cæſar in great danger, ſaves himſelf by ſwimming. The Alexandrians demand their King of Cæſar, who returns him. Cæſar receives ſupplies. Mithridates of Pergamus brings him a conſiderable reinforcement. Cæſar goes to join him. Laſt battle, wherein Ptolemy is defeated and afterwards drowned in the Nile. Reduction of Alexandria and Egypt. The Kingdom of Egypt given to Cleopatra and her ſecond brother. Cæſar devotes himſelf for ſome time to the charms of Cleopatra. He is obliged to quit Egypt on the report of the progreſs of Pharnaces in Aſia. Concluſion of the amours of Cæſar and Cleopatra. Cæſar ſettles the affairs of Syria and Cilicia. Dejotarus ſues for pardon, and partly obtains it. Pharnaces, taking advantage of the civil war to commence hoſtilities, gains conſiderable advantages. Defeats Domitius Calvinus, Cæſar's Lieutenant. Cæſar comes and gains a victory. Remarkable ſaying of Cæſar thereon. Total ruin and death of Pharnaces. Cæſar, in his return to Rome, ſettles the affairs of Aſia, and raiſes great contributions. His maxim on that head.

CÆSAR very juſtly thought, no reſpite ought to be allowed his vanquiſhed enemy, whoſe reputation alone was ſufficient to put him in a condition of repairing his forces: As therefore he was abſolutely bent on purſuing him, he marched every day as far as the body of cavalry he had with him could hold out, and was followed by ſhorter marches by a ſingle legion. He heard of Pompey at Amphipolis; but having no ſhips with him, he was under the neceſſity of marching by land to the ſtraits of the Helleſpont, that he might only have that ſhort paſſage by ſea into Aſia. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. Cæſ. de B. Civ. l. III. Plut. Cæſ. Dio. l. 42. Appian. Civ. l. ii.

He ſent before him the troops he had brought with him; then went on board a ſort of packet-boat, and in the middle of the ſtreight, fell in with one of the Chiefs of the contrary party, eſcorted by ten men of

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. war. This was L. Caſſius *, without doubt the ſame who went from Corcyra to Pontus, in order to perſuade Pharnaces to revolt. Cæſar no ways terrified to ſee himſelf confronted by an enemy of a ſuperior force, bore up to him, and commanded him to ſtrike. He obeyed; ſuch was the terror of Cæſar's name, that, with a ſingle ſloop, he compelled ten ſhips of war to ſurrender.

Suet. Cæſ. 62. Dio.

Cæſar continued his route by ſea, either employing the ſhips he had taken from L. Caſſius, which, however, he makes no mention of in his Commentaries, or making uſe of thoſe which ſome of the cities of Aſia had ſupplied him with. When he came to Epheſus, he a ſecond time ſaved the treaſure of Diana's temple, which T. Ampius Balbus was going to plunder for Pompey. And indeed he ſignalized himſelf during the whole courſe of his voyage, by acts of generoſity and clemency, in pardoning as many of Pompey's friends as were introduced to him, and in forgiving thoſe people of Aſia who had ſent him any aſſiſtance. Only, as he ſtood in need of ſupplies, he laid them under contributions. But ſo far from intending to harraſs the people, he publiſhed orders reſtraining the power of the collectors. I ought not here to omit for the reputation of letters, that in conſideration of Theopompus the Cnidian, to whoſe learning and inſtruction he paid a great regard, he granted to the city of Cnidus, the birth-place of this ſage, a total exemption from all taxes and contributions.

Plut. Cæſ.

Plut. Bruto.

In his paſſage he was informed that Pompey had been ſeen in the iſle of Cyprus, which fully confirmed him in what Brutus, in a diſcourſe between them on this head, had before ſuggeſted. Cæſar therefore no

* Some ancient and modern authors have taken this Caſſius, for him who afterwards was in the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar. Freinſhemius very judiciouſly obſerves, that the cowardice this Commodore of ten ſhips ſhews on this occaſion, by no means ſuits the bold, haughty character of C. Caſſius. Dio purpoſely diſtinguiſhes them: and his teſtimony agrees with Cicero, as may be ſeen at the concluſion of the preceding book.

longer

longer doubting that Egypt, where Pompey had ſo good intereſt, had appeared to him the beſt aſylum he could make choice of, left Rhodes, with a convoy of ten Rhodian gallies and a few others from Aſia, having on board two legions, but ſo greatly weakened, as to make in the whole but three thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe. This was but a feeble eſcort, but Cæſar depended on the reputation his former exploits had gained him, for the ſafety of his perſon. However, he did not immediately enter the port of Alexandria; but perceiving a good deal of diſorder and tumult on the ſtrand, he choſe to lay by, till he could know the reaſon of it. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Here he received a viſit from Theodotus, that wretched rhetorician, who had adviſed Pompey's murder, and flattered himſelf he was now to receive his reward, by preſenting his head and ring to his enemy. Cæſar could not refrain from tears at ſo melancholy a ſpectacle, from whatever principle they might proceed. For, neither to adopt the invectives of Lucan, nor the poſitiveneſs of Dio, who inſiſts that this ſorrow was counterfeit, the reflection, which one of the greateſt French poets has put in the mouth of Cornelia, muſt be allowed to be juſt: Lucan. l. X. Liv. Epit. CXII.

* *O ſoupirs! ô reſpect! ô qu'il eſt doux de plaindre*
Le ſort d'un ennemi, quand il n'eſt plus à craindre.

Cæſar, however, took care to obſerve a decorum in all his actions. He highly reſented the baſe murdering of Pompey, and having cauſed his head to be burnt with the moſt coſtly perfumes, he honoured its aſhes, by placing them in a temple, which he dedicated to the Goddeſs Nemeſis. This divinity the pagans adored, as the avenger of the inſolence and pride of men when in proſperity, and of their cruelty to the unfortunate. Val. Max. l. Appian.

* What ſighs! what tears! how pleaſant 'tis to grieve
That foe, when dead, who living made us tremble!

His

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. His character ſeems to be deficient but in one point: In not ordering the immediate execution of the wretch who brought him that fatal preſent. By puniſhing this outrage of the Egyptians, he had not only avenged Pompey, but it may be ſaid, had avenged himſelf. For undoubtedly he had ſhared the ſame fate, if he had had the misfortune to be defeated. Perhaps he thought it imprudent to carry things with ſo high a hand on his firſt arrival in a country, which was not in ſubjection to him. Certain it is, that Brutus had the honour of that piece of vengeance, who after he had killed Cæſar, cauſed Theodotus, who, hoped to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crime, by concealing himſelf in Aſia, to be executed in the moſt cruel torments.

Plut. Pomp.

Cæſar might reaſonably look on the city of Alexandria as in his intereſt, after the ſacrifice the King of Egypt had made him. But probably the reception he gave the perſon who brought him Pompey's head, had given a bad impreſſion. Immediately on landing, he was accoſted in a clamorous manner by the ſoldiers, which Ptolemy, who ſtill continued near Peluſium, had left to garriſon the Royal city: and he obſerved that the mob appeared diſſatisfied to ſee the faſces carried before him, which they interpreted a degradation of the ſovereign authority.

Cæſar took up his quarters in the palace, where he cauſed a ſtrict guard to be mounted. But as the mutiny of the Alexandrians ſtill continued, and as each day produced ſome freſh diſturbance, in which the Roman ſoldiers were frequently inſulted and ſometimes killed, he perceived his forces were not ſufficient, and accordingly he ſent into Aſia for ſome of the legions which he had raiſed out of the remains of Pompey's army; for he had ſent back his veteran troops into Italy under the conduct of Anthony: And to appeaſe the mob, he for ſeveral days refrained from all buſineſs of import, amuſing himſelf with walking about the city, viewing and admiring the temples and other public buildings, and even ſometimes attending philo-

philoſophical lectures. In a word, he in every thing affected great mildneſs and popularity, receiving whoever viſited him with great politeneſs. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

I don't doubt but it muſt appear ſurprizing to every body, as well as to myſelf, what could induce Cæſar to continue in this inaction, at a time that ſo many important affairs required his preſence in Italy, in Aſia, and in Africa. Pompey was dead, what then had Cæſar to do in Egypt? It could not be his love for Cleopatra, for he had not then ſeen her. I can therefore find no other probable reaſon for his ſtay at Alexandria, but what he himſelf gives in his Commentaries. The * Eteſian winds blew at that ſeaſon, which are directly contrary to any paſſage by ſea from Alexandria. Cæſar was therefore under the neceſſity of abiding there.

This ſituation of Cæſar proved of advantage to many of Pompey's partizans, who having accompanied their chief in his flight, were either now wandering in Egypt, or had been ſeized by the King's order. Cæſar pardoned them all without any diſtinction; and in his letters to his friends at Rome he acknowledged, that the greateſt and moſt agreeable advantage he reaped from his victory, was the having every day an opportunity of ſparing the lives of ſome of his countrymen, who had taken up arms againſt him.

Ptolemy was not at Alexandria when Cæſar firſt came there; but he came ſoon afterwards, either voluntarily, or ſent for by Cæſar, who had a mind to take cognizance of the diſpute between this young King and his ſiſter Cleopatra, concerning the right of ſucceſſion. This is what gave riſe to that difference.

Ptolemy Auletes at his death left four children; two Princes, who were both called Ptolemy, and two Princeſſes, the celebrated Cleopatra and Arſinoë. By his will he ordered that the elder of his ſons ſhould

* The Eteſian winds are northerly winds, which conſtantly blow in Egypt for a conſiderable time about the ſummer ſolſtice.

marry

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. marry his elder daughter, and ſhould jointly reign with her; which was no more than cuſtomary with the deſcendants of Lagus, who had eſtabliſhed a law for ſuch aſſociations to the crown, and for ſuch inceſtuous marriages. For the more certain execution of this his will, he therein implored the protection of the Roman people; and having cauſed two copies to be made thereof, he ſent one to be lodged in the Capitol, and kept the other at Alexandria. He died under the Conſulſhip of Sulpicius and Marcellus, Anno Romæ 701.

The union did not long ſubſiſt betwixt young Ptolemy and Cleopatra. That haughty, ambitious Princeſs had the ſuperiority over her brother in point of age; for at the time of her father's death, ſhe was ſeventeen years old, and her brother only thirteen. She therefore claimed a right to govern her brother, and to take the adminiſtration of affairs into her hands. On the other hand, the guardians of the young Prince, the chief of whom was Pothinus the eunuch, claimed the ſovereign authority in the King's name. This diviſion fermented for ſome time in the Alexandrian court, but had not as yet produced any open rupture, when Pompey's eldeſt ſon came there to demand ſuccours. Cleopatra even then made no ſcruple to ſacrifice her modeſty to her ambition, and to make a traffic of her beauty. She was pleaſed to find that young Roman was not inſenſible to her charms, and thought, by the proſtitution of her perſon to his paſſion, to have inſured his protection. However, ſhe was miſtaken, as the Senate gave its determination, as has been already related, in favour of Ptolemy. The young Prince had no ſooner obtained this decree, than he baniſhed Cleopatra, who, with her ſiſter Arſinoë, retired into Syria, where ſhe aſſembled an army. Ptolemy marched to oppoſe her, and the two armies were in ſight of each other near mount Caſius, at the entrance into Egypt on the Syrian ſide, at the time Pompey came there to meet his unhappy fate,

Plut. Anton.

Cæſar

Cæſar undertook to be arbitrator in this diſpute, and inſiſted it was his right as Conſul of the Roman people, who had been appointed guardians of the Prince and Princeſs by their father: he therefore ordered them to diſmiſs their troops, and to come and plead their cauſe before him. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

Ptolemy's miniſters had all the reaſon in the world to apprehend ſuch an arbitrator. Cleopatra's pretenſions were valid: She had been ill uſed by Pompey's ſenate: laſtly, ſhe was handſome, and it was well enough known what influence a fine Lady of ſo complaiſant a diſpoſition would have on Cæſar.

Beſides, another affair alarmed them, and gave them freſh cauſe of diſcontent. Cæſar, who was in great want of money, had applied to the King of Egypt for a ſupply. He had formerly lent Ptolemy Auletes * ſeventy millions of ſeſterces, thirty of which he had afterwards excuſed his children the payment of; but he inſiſted that the remaining forty ſhould be inſtantly paid him: which was no eaſy matter. 546,875 l. Sterling.

Theſe different conſiderations ſo exaſperated Pothinus, that 'tis reported he even formed a deſign of aſſaſſinating Cæſar: To prevent which, the Roman General paſſed whole nights at table, that he might not be ſurpriſed in the dark, or in his bed.

Whatever methods an inveterate hatred could ſuggeſt, to vex and croſs a perſon it had not the power of deſtroying, Pothinus put in practice. He cauſed bad corn to be delivered to the Roman ſoldiers, and if any complaint was made, he ſaid they ought to think themſelves but too happy, in living at another's expence. In all feſtivals, he made uſe of earthen and wooden veſſels, ſaying, that thoſe of gold and ſilver had been given in payment to Cæſar. On the ſame pretence, he ſeized the offerings of the temples, in hopes to make the odium of ſuch ſacrileges fall on Cæſar; and which, indeed, extremely exaſperated the Egyptians, who were the moſt ſuperſtitious of all people. Laſtly, he reſolved to make uſe of open force, and diſpatched orders to Achillas, who had remained with the

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. the army near Peluſium, to march all his forces to Alexandria.

Cleopatra took a quite different method. She complied implicitly with Cæſar's orders, and diſbanded her army; at leaſt I don't find any mention made afterwards of it. She alſo took care to ſend proper perſons, in whom ſhe could confide, to plead her cauſe with the Roman General. But ſhe judged no method was ſo likely to ſucceed, as to come and do it in perſon. The difficulty was how to get into Alexandria, which her enemies were in poſſeſſion of. She went on board a ſmall veſſel, and in the evening landed near the palace. Then, in order to get in, without any one's knowledge, ſhe wrapped herſelf up in a coverlet, and in this manner was carried by one Apollodorus Siculus into the very chamber of Cæſar. Her addreſs pleaſed him. Afterwards what by her beauty, what by her graceful diſcourſe, to which ſhe joined entreaties and careſſes, Cleopatra not only procured her pretenſions to be allowed juſt, but even brought Cæſar to the point ſhe doubtleſs wiſhed for; and to be re-eſtabliſhed in the dignity and rank of Conſort to the King of Egypt, ſhe began by committing adultery with him, whoſe protection ſhe ſought.

Lucan. l. X.

This interview has occaſioned many people to think, that the war which immediately followed, and which on the one hand gave the vanquiſhed party time to recover themſelves, and on the other hand expoſed Cæſar to very great perils, was undertaken by him wantonly, and ought to be conſidered as the effect of his amours with Cleopatra. For my part, though I am far from excuſing him on that article, yet the facts induce me to think, that Cæſar being detained by the Eteſian winds, and engaged in the deciſion of the quarrel betwixt Ptolemy and Cleopatra, was deſirous, as an effect of his reſolute, abſolute, and imperious temper, to get the better of an affair, of which, at firſt, he was not aware of the conſequences. Love

it

it is true had ſome ſhare; but I much doubt whether it was his principal motive. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

However, the day after Cleopatra's arrival, Cæſar ſent for the young King, who was ſtrangely ſurprized to find his ſiſter with his judge. He fled from the palace towards the market-place, crying out, that he was betrayed; and in the exceſs of his grief and paſſion, plucked the diadem from his head. But he was ſeized and brought back by ſome Roman ſoldiers: However, not ſoon enough, to prevent the outcry he made, giving the alarm to the city, and occaſioning a violent ſedition. The Alexandrians ran in arms from all parts to beſet the palace. Cæſar ſhewed himſelf to them, and having promiſed to make them ſatisfaction, called a council, at which, he, Ptolemy, and Cleopatra were preſent. He there declared, that the Alexandrians had no cauſe to be alarmed, as he intended to do no more, than what they themſelves deſired, to wit, to declare the brother and ſiſter King and Queen of Egypt, conformable to their father's will. Dio.

Moreover Cæſar promiſed to give the iſle of Cyprus, which was an ancient appennage of the kingdom of Egypt, but had ſince become a Roman province, to the younger Ptolemy, and to Arſinoë, his ſecond ſiſter. Dio aſcribes this bounty to the apprehenſions Cæſar was then under. But he little knew that haughty intrepid man. No fear could ever have ſo far got the better of his courage, as to engage him to give up any one province from the empire. It ſeems to me more probable, that this favour was granted in compliance to Cleopatra's requeſt; and that this ambitious and deſigning Princeſs was glad to ſee an ancient dominion of her anceſtors reſtored to her brother and ſiſter; intending to ſeize it afterwards for her own uſe, as ſhe did, the very firſt opportunity.

In the mean while, Achillas, who had been ſent for by Pothinus, approached Alexandria with the Royal army. This army was not inconſiderable. It Cæſ.

amounted

A.R. 704. Ant. C. 48. amounted to twenty thouſand effective men, many of whom were originally Romans, brought into the country by Gabienus, when he came to ſettle Auletes on the throne, and who having afterwards married and ſettled in Alexandria, were devoted to the Ptolemean intereſt. There were alſo ſome brigades raiſed in Syria and Cilicia, together with a conſiderable number of renegade ſlaves, who had deſerted their maſters, and found protection in Egypt by entering into the ſervice. Add to theſe two thouſand cavalry, who, during the late troubles, and the wars that enſued, had had opportunities of inuring themſelves to arms.

Cæſar, who had with him only three thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, was not able to keep the field againſt ſo numerous an army. He perſuaded Ptolemy to ſend two of his principal Lords to Achillas, to forbid his approach. But Achillas underſtood perfectly well, that theſe orders came from Cæſar, and not from his King; and inſtead of complying with them, he ſtirred up his ſoldiers againſt the deputies, one of whom was killed on the ſpot, and the other dangerouſly wounded. Upon hearing this, Cæſar took care to ſecure the King's perſon, the authority of whoſe name would authoriſe his proceedings, and occaſion Achillas and his aſſociates to be eſteemed ſeditious and rebellious.

Achillas loſt no time before he entered Alexandria, whoſe circumference was of too great an extent for Cæſar poſſibly to defend the whole, with the few troops he had. So that the Egyptian General made himſelf maſter of the city without any difficulty, the palace only excepted, where Cæſar purpoſed to make his ſtand. He attacked this quarter briſkly, though it was on the ſide of the harbour that the greateſt efforts were made. On that, in effect, the victory depended. Beſides two and twenty conſtant guard-ſhips, there were in the port fifty gallies, from three to five banks of oars, which the year before had been ſent to Pompey's aſſiſtance, and were returned ſince the battle of Pharſalia. Had Achillas been once maſter of

of theſe veſſels, he might have cut Cæſar off from all communication with the ocean, and conſequently from all hopes of receiving ſupplies of victuals or forces. Thus the Egyptians in hopes of a complete victory, and the Romans to avoid a certain ruin, exerted themſelves with incredible vigour. At length Cæſar carried his point, and not only ſet fire to the veſſels already mentioned, but to all that were in the arſenals. The number of ſhips, burnt on this occaſion, amounted to one hundred and ten. The flames at laſt extended themſelves to the Alexandrian * library, and that valuable monument of the magnificence of the Ptolemies, and of their taſte for learning, was almoſt wholly conſumed. A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48. Hiſt. de Bell. Alex. n. 12.

Cæſar neglected nothing that might be of advantage to him. In the heat of the action, he paſſed ſome troops into the iſle of Pharos, to take poſſeſſion of that important poſt, which was the key to the Alexandrian port. This little iſland, ſo famous for the ſuperb edifice erected there by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and which takes its name from it, was joined to the continent by a cauſeway of nine hundred paces, and by a bridge. As it was ſituate at the entrance of the port, which was but narrow, it abſolutely commanded it. It was therefore a maſterly ſtroke in Cæſar to take poſſeſſion of it, as it enabled him to receive the ſupplies he had ſent for on all ſides.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, Cæſar continued in great danger: and although Achillas had not as yet ſucceeded in any one point, there was reaſon to expect he would make freſh attempts; and as he had the ſuperiority of forces, what he had failed in once, he might ſucceed in another time. Cæſar therefore immediately flung up entrenchments, and erected fortifications of all kinds round his quarter, from whence he had an uninterrupted paſſage to the harbour. Theſe entrenchments were of double advantage to him, both

* Elegantiæ regum curæque egregium opus. Liv. ap. Sen. de tranq. animi, c. 9.

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 48.

as to his defence, and as they prevented his being compelled to come to a general engagement.

The Alexandrians erected works, in imitation of the Romans, in that part of the city which belonged to them; and as they were a very * ingenious people, ſo perfectly well copied what they ſaw begun by their enemies, that one might have miſtaken their works for the original. At the ſame time they were raiſing troops all over Egypt, arming their ſlaves, providing themſelves with military engines, and making arms. In a word, nothing was omitted on either ſide, neceſſary for the attack, or defence of a place.

Achillas (as I have already ſaid) acted in concert with Pothinus: and although the latter was ſhut up in the palace, yet the correſpondence was carried on by ſecret meſſages. This intelligence was diſcovered: and Cæſar, having had convincing proof thereof, ordered Pothinus's execution; being the firſt of Pompey's aſſaſſins who had met with condign puniſhment. According to Plutarch, this wicked eunuch had formed the deſign of cutting Cæſar's throat at table; and the conſpiracy was diſcovered by a ſlave (a barber) whoſe exceeding timid temper prompting him to be continually upon the watch, he thought he had made ſome diſcoveries; and being confirmed in his ſuſpicions, revealed the plot to Cæſar his maſter.

Whilſt the Alexandrian war was carried on with the greateſt heat, the year being elapſed, Cæſar received advice from Rome, that he had been appointed Dictator, not for ſix months, as was cuſtomary, but for a year. He took poſſeſſion of this ſovereign dignity, in Ptolemy's palace; and for ſeveral months was the only Roman magiſtrate, having Mark Anthony for his General of the horſe. Nevertheleſs about towards the end of the year, Calenus and Vatinius were created Conſuls, we will follow the Roman practice, of deſcribing the year by the names of thoſe who bore that office.

Dio.

* Homines ingenioſiſſimi atque acutiſſimi, quæ à nobis fieri videbant, eâ ſolertiâ efficiebant, ut noſtri illorum opera imitari viderentur. Hiſt. de B. Alex. n. 3.

Q. Fu

Q. FUFIUS CALENUS. A R. 705.
P. VATINIUS. Ant. C. 47.

There had happened a very extraordinary revolution in the Alexandrian army, not that Cæſar's danger was thereby leſs imminent. It ſeems Arſinoë, Cleopatra's ſiſter, who formerly accompanied her in her flight, and probably returned with her to Alexandria, had found means, by the aſſiſtance of Ganimed her confident, to eſcape from the palace, and to get into Achillas's camp. There ſhe occaſioned a diviſion. A great number of Egyptians had a favourable regard for this Princeſs, who was of the blood Royal: but as Achillas was reſolved to retain the authority, the conteſt was whoſe bounty, or rather bribery, ſhould gain moſt on the ſoldiers. However, Arſinoë ſoon got a ſuperiority; and having procured Achillas to be aſſaſſinated by Ganimed, the troops remained at her diſpoſal, the command of whom ſhe conferred on the murderer. He, not leſs bold or knowing than his predeceſſor, ſignalized the beginning of his command by a well concerted, though difficult enterpriſe, and which for ſome time greatly embarraſſed the Romans. Cæſ. de B. Civ. l. III. & Hiſt. de B. Alex.

Alexandria was ſupplied with water from the Nile, by an artificial canal. The water of this river being generally muddy and unwholeſome, every houſe in the city was provided with a ciſtern, where the water was let in by the canal to purge itſelf, and thereby became innoxious and fit to drink. The canal was in that part of the city, where the Egyptians were maſters: So that to render it impoſſible for the Romans to hold longer out, Ganimed thought he had only to taint the water in the ciſterns of their quarter.

Having formed this deſign, he began by cloſing up all the ciſterns in his quarters, then raiſing the ſea-water by wheels and other machines, he flung great quantities of it into the Roman ciſterns. Thoſe, whoſe houſes were neareſt the ſea, were the firſt to perceive the alteration, and were much ſurprized to

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. find their water ſalt, at the ſame time that the wat of the more diſtant houſes remained freſh as befor However, the ſaltneſs ſoon became general: and t Romans were ſo frightened at it, that they thought nothing but leaving the city and retreating, notwit ſtanding the difficulty and extreme danger of embar ing in the face of an enemy.

Cæſar comforted and encouraged them: he to them, "that the evil was not ſo great as they im gined: that there were always freſh ſprings on the ſe coaſt; and that they had but to dig to a certain dep to come at them. That a retreat was equally det mental to their honour and their ſafety; and that they found it difficult to maintain their ground, b hind entrenchments, againſt a numerous enemy, quit thoſe entrenchments, and embark in a hurry, a conſequently with confuſion, was expoſing themſelv to certain ruin. Laſtly, that their ſafety depended victory."

Having finiſhed this diſcourſe, he ordered that other work ſhould go on, until a ſufficient number wells were dug in different places. This met with t deſired ſucceſs, and Cæſar by this means, witho much trouble, fruſtrated the deſigns of the Egyptian which had coſt them infinite labour.

Ganimed, however, was not diſheartened; as h was ſenſible that the only means to conquer, was t prevent Cæſar's receiving the reinforcements he e pected, and which muſt come to him by ſea, he re ſolved to have a fleet at any price. Cæſar's fleet wa not conſiderable, it amounted in the whole to onl thirty-four Rhodian or Aſiatic veſſels; five of whic were of five banks of oars, ten of four, and the re of leſs burthen, and the greater part without an deck. So that the Egyptian General had no gre difficulty to raiſe a ſuperior naval force. Accordingl he refitted the old ſhips which had eſcaped the fire and ſent for thoſe which guarded the entrances of th Nile; and of theſe he compoſed a fleet, which witho reckoning the ſmaller veſſels, conſiſted of twenty-ſeve gre

reat gallies, twenty-two of which were of four banks, A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.
nd five of five banks of oars.

Notwithſtanding this ſuperiority, Cæſar got the advantage in two ſeveral engagements, through the valour of the Roman ſoldiers, and the dexterity of their allies, and particularly of the Rhodians in working their ſhips. But another important action, which was fought both by land and ſea at the ſame time, had not the like ſucceſs.

The Alexandrians had retaken the iſle of Pharos, and from thence much annoyed the Romans. Cæſar was determined to diſlodge the enemy from this poſt; he landed ſome troops in the iſland, and got poſſeſſion of it, and of the bridge, which communicated from the iſle to the cauſeway. But the Alexandrians ſtill remained maſters of another bridge, which joined the cauſeway to the continent. The next day Cæſar returned to the charge; and cauſed this bridge to be attacked, on one ſide by ſome of his ſhips, and on the other ſide by three cohorts, which he had poſted on the cauſeway. The Alexandrians fought ſtoutly: their land forces defended the head of the bridge, and from their ſhips they diſcharged their arrows and ſlings on the cauſeway. In the heat of the action, ſome marines and rowers in the Roman fleet, partly through curioſity, partly through a deſire of having ſome ſhare in the engagement, came and joined the combatants: but being ſeized with a panic, they inſtantly fled, and threw the reſt into confuſion. All Cæſar's endeavours to rally his forces were vain: the whole was in confuſion, and every one thought of ſaving himſelf. In this diſorder great numbers were drowned, and many put to the ſword. The loſs is computed by the ancient writer of the Alexandrian war, at about four hundred legionary ſoldiers, and a ſtill greater number of thoſe, whoſe curioſity led them to intermeddle where they were not concerned.

It was not without great difficulty and hazard, that Cæſar himſelf eſcaped. When he ſaw the irremediable diſorder of his troops, he retired to his ſhip.

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. But as great crowds entered at the ſame time with him, foreſeeing what would happen, he jumped into the ſea, and ſwam two hundred paces, to get to the ſhips that lay neareſt him. This precaution was not unneceſſary, for the veſſel he quitted preſently ſunk.

Suet. Cæſ. c. 64. Flor. IV. 2. Plut. Cæſ. Appian. Dio. It is remarkable that having ſtripped off his coat of mail, which would have been an incumbrance to him in ſwimming, he drew it after him by his teeth, to prevent, if poſſible, its falling into the enemy's hands: and as he had ſome papers in his left hand, he conſtantly held it above water, at the ſame time ſwimming with his right, by which means the papers were not wetted. However, his coat of armour got from him, which proved of ſervice to him: for being purple, and diſtinguiſhable by the brightneſs of its colour, it ſuſtained all the fury of the enemy's ſhot, at the ſame time that Cæſar ſaved himſelf without being obſerved, or known. The Alexandrians took it, and made it the principal ornament in the trophy they erected on the place of the engagement.

Hiſt. de B. Alex. This check, which the Romans had ſuſtained, would have been ſufficient to diſcourage troops capable of fear. But theſe intrepid warriors were from thence only more exaſperated; and in the ſallies and ſkirmiſhes which happened every day, the Alexandrians found them more and more terrible.

They now began to think it would be of great ſervice to them if they could have their King at their head; and in order to get him out of Cæſar's hands, they had recourſe to ſtratagem. They ſent deputies to him, with inſtructions to tell him, "that the Alexandrians being tired of a government which Arſinoë's ſex, age, and want of lawful authority, rendered feeble and precarious, and being moreover weary of the inſolence and cruelty of the eunuch Ganimed, deſired nothing ſo much as their King. That if they once could ſee him at their head, negotiating in their name, and guarantee for the Romans abiding by their engagements with his ſubjects, they would immediately lay down their arms."

Cæſar,

Cæſar, who was perfectly well acquainted with the deceitful and artful temper of the Egyptians, was not to be impoſed on by their plauſible diſcourſe. However, he determined at all events to comply with their demands, being ſenſible that the whole hazard was to them and their King: for as to what concerned himſelf, if, at firſt, he thought it might be of ſervice to him to detain the young Prince, to prevent, if poſſible, a rebellion; now that it was not only broke out, but had been obſtinately maintained for ſeveral months, ſuch a priſoner created him more trouble than real advantage. He therefore ſent for Ptolemy, and having exhorted him to put an end to the misfortunes of his country, to ſave from total ruin its metropolis, which might be eſteemed one of the fineſt cities in the world, and to bring back his rebellious ſubjects to their allegiance, he took him by the hand to conduct him out of the palace. The young King was then but fifteen years old; he had nevertheleſs made great progreſs in the leſſons of diſſimulation and treachery which had been given him. He burſt into tears, and deſired to ſtay with Cæſar, proteſting he took more pleaſure in his company, than in the poſſeſſion of a crown. Such a behaviour deceived Cæſar, who was touched by his tears, which he imagined to be ſincere, and told him, if thoſe were his real ſentiments, they ſhould quickly ſee one another again. Ptolemy took his leave, and had no ſooner got his liberty, than he entirely changed his ſtile and conduct, and puſhed the war with ſo much vigour, that there was room to think, that the tears which he ſhed in this converſation with Cæſar were tears of joy. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

About this time Cæſar received a conſiderable reinforcement of troops, together with a ſupply of ammunition and proviſions, which came to him both by ſea and land. It was already ſome time, that a legion, compoſed of Pompey's veterans, had come to him from Aſia: and though at firſt they were drove by the winds on the African coaſt beyond Alexandria,

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. yet there is no * doubt but that Cæſar afterwards found means to introduce them into the city. However the convoys, in their paſſage to him, were waylaid, and often ſurpriſed by the Egyptian ſhips, ſtationed for that purpoſe near Canopus: to prevent which, and to diſlodge theſe pirates, Cæſar ſent thither his fleet under the command of Ti. Nero his Queſtor. This had the deſired effect; except that the Rhodian Admiral, by name Euphranor, a man of great courage, and who had not his equal in maritime knowledge, being too far advanced, and not properly ſuſtained, was ſurrounded by the Alexandrians, and ſunk with his ſhip.

Strabo. l. XIII. p. 625. Hiſt. But what determined the victory, were the ſuccours brought by land to Cæſar, by Mithridates of Pergamus. This Mithridates was of the race of the Gallogrecian Tetrarchs, though born in the city of Pergamus, from whence the ſirname of Pergamenus has been given him in hiſtory. His mother, who, though ſhe had a huſband, was nevertheleſs miſtreſs to Mithridates the Great, was glad to paſs her ſon for the ſon of that famous King, and accordingly gave him the ſame name. It is certain that the King of Pontus had a great affection for that child; that, when he was very young, he took him with him to the field, gave him a princely education, and for a great number of years, never parted from him. Mithridates of Pergamus, who from his birth had diſcovered a very happy diſpoſition to knowledge, could not fail making great improvement from the leſſons of ſo great a maſter. To his natural courage he joined an uncommon knowledge in the art military: and as he afterwards ſided with Cæſar, he ſtood the foremoſt in his friendſhip, at the time he accompanied Cæſar to Alexandria. On the breaking out of the war, Cæſar ſent him into Syria and Cilicia, to raiſe troops for his ſervice. Mithridates acquitted himſelf of this commiſ-

* I expreſs myſelf in this manner, becauſe Cæſar's continuator takes no notice of his legions entering Alexandria.

ſion

ſion with great fidelity; and finding the people very favourably diſpoſed, he in a ſhort time raiſed a numerous army, at the head of which he advanced towards Peluſium. Antipater, Hyrcan's miniſter, was in this army, with three thouſand Jews, who, according to the teſtimony of Joſephus, did ſignal ſervice to the Romans in this expedition. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. Joſ. Antiq. XIV. 14. de B. Jud. I. 7.

Peluſium was not able to hold out againſt Mithridates. Notwithſtanding there was a ſtrong garriſon in the place, which was the key of Egypt on the Syrian ſide, it was carried by ſtorm, the very firſt day of the attack.

The ſhorteſt way from Peluſium to Alexandria, would have been to have gone from Eaſt to Weſt, keeping a parallel line with the ſea. But all that country is traverſed in ſuch a manner by branches of the Nile and by canals, that Mithridates found the march equally fatiguing and hazardous. This obliged him to return as far as the head of the Delta, that is to ſay, to the place where the Nile begins to divide itſelf into two great branches. Memphis, the ancient court of the Egyptian Kings, opened her gates to him, and afforded him a paſſage over the Nile. Hirt. Joſeph.

Ptolemy, having received advice of the approach of this army, detached a body of troops to ſtop its progreſs, and to prevent its junction with Cæſar. Part of this detachment having outſtripped the reſt in their route, and being eager to carry off the honour of the victory from their followers, their commanders made an immediate diſpoſition to attack Mithridates, who was well entrenched. This fault, ſo frequent in war, and ſo often puniſhed by ill-ſucceſs, on this occaſion met with its juſt reward. The Egyptians were repulſed with loſs, and had been entirely deſtroyed, if their knowledge of the country, which facilitated their retreat to the tranſports which brought them, had not favoured their eſcape. However, the remainder of the detachment which had not yet engaged, and had been joined by thoſe who eſcaped the firſt defeat, Hirt.

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. feat, was yet of ſufficient force to prevent Mithridates's advancing.

Cæſar and the King of Egypt were both informed of this event, and ſet out almoſt at the ſame time, the one to join Mithridates, the other to ſurprize and deſtroy him. Though Ptolemy got there firſt, by means of a great number of ſmall veſſels, which were of uſe in tranſporting his troops, and having beſides the advantage of going directly up the river, yet he was not able to attempt any thing before Cæſar's arrival, who found no difficulty to join Mithridates.

Cæſar, now ſeeing himſelf at the head of a powerful army, was reſolved to put an end to the war. The King was encamped, at a little diſtance from the Nile, which flanked him on the left. Betwixt his camp and Cæſar's was a canal, of which the Alexandrians endeavoured to diſpute the paſſage. However, it was to no purpoſe, for Cæſar paſſed it, and the next day attacked and carried the King's camp ſword in hand. Great was the ſlaughter of the Egyptians. Their only refuge was to get on board their tranſports, and endeavour to fall down the river. Ptolemy himſelf went on board one of theſe veſſels, which, being over-loaded by the numbers who jumped into it, ſunk to the bottom: and in this manner was the young King drowned in the Nile. His body was afterwards found, covered with mud, and known by the golden cuiraſs, which it was cuſtomary for the Ptolemies to wear in the time of action.

Flor. IV. 2. Oroſ. VI. 16. Cæſar ſent this cuiraſs to Alexandria, to be a proof to the inhabitants of their King's death, and himſelf followed with his cavalry by the ſhorteſt way, being perſuaded that on the news of his victory, every body would ſubmit, nor even dare to think of war. Nor was he miſtaken; for he no ſooner appeared on the enemy's ſide of the town, than he perceived the Alexandrians coming out to meet him, and to implore his forgiveneſs. Cæſar comforted them, promiſed to treat them with humanity, and croſſed the enemy's works to come to his own quarters.

In

In this manner Cæſar extricated himſelf from a war, wherein all manner of difficulties and diſadvantages ſeemed united againſt him: wherein as well the ſeaſon of the year, as his ſituation, were adverſe, fighting in the depth of winter, and within the walls of an artful enemy, who was well ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions, at the ſame time that he was in want of every thing, and abſolutely unprepared. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

He had it now in his power to reduce Egypt to a province of the empire. Suetonius ſays, that the reaſon, which diſſuaded him from ſo doing, was, that he was apprehenſive that ſome ambitious Governor, who ſhould reſide in ſo opulent a country and of ſo difficult acceſs, might ſome time or other be tempted to revolt. This probably was the reaſon Cæſar alledged to his friends: The true one, without doubt, was his love for Cleopatra. It may not, however, be amiſs to obſerve, that, whatever attachment he might have for the Queen, Cæſar here did no more than an act of juſtice. The kingdom of Egypt was the patrimony of Cleopatra and of her now only ſurviving brother, and they had committed no offence to juſtify their being deprived of it: So that, conformable to the will of Ptolemy Auletes, Cæſar declared them King and Queen of Egypt. It is true, the Prince, being almoſt an infant, was only nominally King, and that the whole authority remained in the hands of his ſiſter, who, beſides the advantage of years, had that of being in very great eſteem with the Dictator. Suet. Cæſ. c. 52. Hirt.

Cleopatra's charms muſt have been very bewitching, to have the power of retarding Cæſar's activity. After having been confined nine months in Alexandria, during which time the whole buſineſs of Rome and Italy was at a ſtand, and whereby the vanquiſhed party found means to get ſtrength and become for-

* Bellum ſanè difficillimum geſſit, neque loco, neque tempore æquo, ſed hieme anni, & intra mœnia copioſiſſimi & ſolertiſſimi hoſtis, inops ipſe rerum omnium atque imparatus. SUET. Cæſ. c. 35.

midable

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. midable in Africa, Cæſar, inſtead of quitting Egypt with all expedition, to go where honour and the affairs of ſtate required his preſence, abandoned himſelf to pleaſure, and paſſed whole nights in feaſts and other debaucheries with Cleopatra: and at laſt ſet out with her to make a tour round the country. They went on board a ſhip richly ornamented, and took their courſe up the Nile, attended by four hundred veſſels. Cæſar's deſign was to have gone into Ethiopia, but he was prevented by his army, who began to diſlike his proceedings.

Suet. Dio. Appian.

Hirt. The report of the progreſs of Pharnaces in Aſia rouſed him from this lethargy, and brought him to himſelf. He at laſt took the reſolution of leaving Cleopatra: but before he departed, he took all the precautions neceſſary for aſſuring her the throne he had put her in poſſeſſion of. He took with him her ſiſter Arſinoë, leſt that Princeſs ſhould excite freſh troubles. He likewiſe left in Alexandria the greateſt part of the Roman troops he had with him, in order to keep the people in obedience and ſubmiſſion to the new eſtabliſhed government.

Suet. Dio. Appian. To conclude the whole relating to Cæſar's amours with Cleopatra, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the Queen being delivered of a ſon ſoon after the Roman General's departure, ſhe called him Cæſario; in order that his name might imply to whom he owed his birth. Cæſar was not diſpleaſed with it: ſo far from it, that he particularly acknowledged Cæſario for his ſon, according to the teſtimony of Anthony. Though Oppius has wrote a book to prove, that the child, which Cleopatra pretended to be Cæſar's ſon, in fact was not ſo. A notable ſubject to write on!

Cæſar kept his intrigue with Cleopatra ſo little a ſecret, that having erected a magnificent temple to Venus, by the name of Venus Genetrix, becauſe the Julii looked on themſelves as deſcended from that divinity, he placed the ſtatue of Cleopatra next to that of the Goddeſs.

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The year after Cæſar's departure, Cleopatra and her huſband made a voyage to Rome. Cæſar received them, and lodged them in his own palace; he had them acknowledged as ſovereigns, friends and allies to the Roman People, and paid them all imaginable honours. After having gained ſo great an aſcendant over Cæſar, one muſt not be ſurprized at Anthony's infatuation and madneſs for this Egyptian. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

Cæſar, on his return from Egypt into Syria, received advice from all hands, that every thing was in confuſion at Rome, and that his preſence was the only means of procuring a calm. However, he thought it neceſſary to regulate the affairs of the provinces, which lay near him, ſome of which were expoſed to the incurſions of Pharnaces; and others, though they had no foreign war to ſupport, or to apprehend, could not but be ſenſible of the ſhock the civil war had given to the whole empire. The Kings and petty Princes in and about Syria came in crowds to wait on him, and were graciouſly received. Cæſar recommended to them, to be particularly careful of the ſafety of the province, and ſent them home extremely well affected to him and to the Roman people. He alſo confirmed Hyrcan in the High-prieſthood of the Jews, maugre the repreſentations of Antigonus ſon of Ariſtobulus, and gave them leave to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had ordered to be pulled down. He likewiſe ſupported Antipater, in the command he had for a long time exerciſed in Judea, under Hyrcan's name, which greatly ſtrengthened the authority of that Prince. Hirt. Joſ. Antiq. XIV. 15. & 16. & de B. Jud. I. 7. 8.

From Syria Cæſar went by ſea into Cilicia, and having convened the ſtates of the province in the city of Tarſus, he prepared to go towards Pontus, which Pharnaces had ſeized, in the manner as ſhall be preſently related. Hirt.

When he came to Comana, he deprived Archelaus (the ſon of him whom Pompey had inveſted with this office) of the Prieſthood of Bellona. This high Appian. Mithrid.

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. dignity, of which I have elſewhere ſpoken, was by him conferred on Lycomedes, or Nicomedes of Bithynia, who, according to the teſtimony of the writer of the Alexandrian war, claimed it in right of his Anceſtors. This however might be only a ſpecious pretence, which ſerved to cover an act of vengeance againſt Archelaus, who was one of Pompey's partizans, and to give Cæſar an opportunity of rewarding the ſervices done him by Lycomedes.

Hirt. On his approaching the frontiers of Gallo-græcia, he was met by Dejotarus, who had not only diveſted himſelf of all marks of royalty, but appeared as a ſuppliant, and a perſon charged with ſome heavy accuſation. He had aſſumed this outward humility, knowing that Cæſar was greatly incenſed againſt him, and had therefore taken all poſſible means, to ſecure to himſelf ſome powerful interceſſors. He excuſed himſelf but very indifferently for having taken party with Pompey. He ſaid, that being in a country where they knew no other authority than Pompey's, and where Cæſar had then neither troops, nor any repreſentative, he was compelled to obey him, under whoſe command he happened to fall. Whereas in truth, he had ſided with Pompey through affection and a perſuaſion of the juſtice of his cauſe.

Cæſar, to refute him, made uſe of as bad reaſons as thoſe which the Galatian Prince brought in his defence. He pretended that Dejotarus had certainly been faulty in regard to him, becauſe he could not but know that he was the perſon, whoſe power Rome and all Italy acknowledged, and who was actually inveſted with the Conſulſhip at the time of the battle of Pharſalia. As if the violence, with which he had ſeized the empire, and had afterwards invaded the Conſulſhip, had been a lawful title, whoſe authority ought to have been reſpected by all the Roman Allies. But in the mouth of the ſtronger, all reaſons are valid.

However, Cæſar obſerved his uſual moderation. He declared to Dejotarus, that he forgave him, that

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is to ſay, that he would offer no violence to his perſon: he ordered him to reſume his robes, and required a legion for the war againſt Pharnaces, formed on the Roman diſcipline. But he reſerved to himſelf the right of determining, after the war, the conteſtations between him and the other Tetrarchs. This was one ſtep towards ſtripping him of the greateſt part of his dominions. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

Cæſar was no ſooner come into Pontus, than he received a deputation from Pharnaces, of whoſe motions it is time to give ſome account.

This Prince, the parricide ſon of Mithridates, at firſt eſteemed himſelf very happy, to be acknowledged by Pompey, King of the Boſphorus, and to be ſtiled friend and ally of the Roman people. But, on the breaking out of the civil war, this opportunity awakened his ambition; and whilſt the Romans were employing their forces to their mutual deſtruction, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of reconquering the dominions of his anceſtors, and which he ſtill looked upon as his patrimony. He began by taking Phanagorea, a city lying beyond the Boſphorus, which Pompey had declared free: He next ſubdued Colchis; then entering Pontus, he made himſelf maſter of Sinope, which had formerly been the reſidence of the Kings his anceſtors. Elated by this ſucceſs, he attacked the Leſſer Armenia, which actually belonged to Dejotarus, and in the abſence of that Prince, eaſily conquered it. Laſtly, he carried his arms into Cappadocia, and attempted to take that kingdom from Ariobarzanes. Appian. Mithrid. Dio. l. XLII. Hirt.

Dejotarus found affairs in this ſituation, on his return after the battle of Pharſalia. Cæſar was at Alexandria, very much embarraſſed, and in very great danger. Domitius Calvinus, by him appointed to take care of the affairs in Aſia and the adjacent provinces, was the only reſource Dejotarus could apply to, as his own forces were not ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of Pharnaces.

A. R. 703. Ant. C. 47. Cæſar's Lieutenant was very ſenſible that the Roman people were not leſs intereſted in this war than Dejotarus and Ariobarzanes. He ſent orders to Pharnaces immediately to evacuate the Leſſer Armenia and Cappadocia; and not to make an ill uſe of the ſituation the Roman people were then in, by not paying them a proper reſpect, or by offering violence to their right and authority. So imperious a declaration had need to be backed by force. Domitius had the command of three legions, but he had been obliged to ſend two of them to Cæſar's aſſiſtance; the one by ſea, the other by land. To the remaining one he added two others, compoſed of Galatians, and other ſubjects of Dejotarus, armed and diſciplined by that Prince, after the Roman manner; and a fourth, which was juſt raiſed in a hurry in the kingdom of Pontus. With theſe four legions, and ſome other auxiliary troops, he advanced as far as Nicopolis in the Leſſer Armenia.

Pharnaces had to no purpoſe endeavoured to amuſe him with a negotiation, and by ſending deputies after deputies, to deſire things might remain as they were till Cæſar's arrival. By this he only meant to gain time, knowing Cæſar's dangerous ſituation in Alexandria. He had likewiſe intercepted ſome letters, wherein Domitius was ordered to come to Egypt, by the route of Syria. And not doubting but that Cæſar's Lieutenant would immediately leave the country, a delay and protraction of affairs to him was equal to a victory.

With this view, and to avoid coming to an engagement, or at leaſt not to fight but on advantageous terms, he drew from the city of Nicopolis, under whoſe walls he was poſted, towards the Roman camp, two parallel ditches, at a moderate diſtance from each other, each four foot deep. Between theſe two lines he drew up his infantry in order of battle. As for his cavalry, as it could not poſſibly act in ſo confined a ſpace, and being moreover ſuperior to that of the Romans,

Romans, he placed them on the flanks, without the A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.
litches.

Domitius, for the very reaſons which induced harnaces to be on the defenſive, was very deſirous o come to action, and the diſadvantage which his oops muſt be expoſed to, in attacking the enemy in ch a ſituation, was to him no obſtacle. But not ving ſufficient capacity to conduct ſuch an attack, d being more bold, than knowing, in the art of ar, he was defeated by Pharnaces. Dejotarus's two gions gave ground at the very firſt onſet, and im-diately run away. The legion raiſed in Pontus was moſt totally cut to pieces. That, which was com-oſed of Pompey's veterans, ſuſtained the whole brunt the action, and retreated in good order, with the s of only two hundred and fifty men.

By this victory, Pharnaces became abſolute maſter the Leſſer Armenia, of Cappadocia, and of Pontus. omitius, who was no longer able to keep the field, embled in the beſt manner he could, the remains of army, and retired into Aſia. The conqueror de an ill uſe of his proſperity, and by the ſeveral s of power, cruelty and oppreſſion which he com-tted, ſeemed to endeavour to make his government ious.

He was making diſpoſitions to puſh his conqueſts far as Bithynia, and the province of Aſia, when received advice, that Aſander, whom he had ap-inted Regent of the Boſphorus during his abſence, revolted. This obliged him to alter his plan, to think of reducing that rebel. Whilſt this bu-s employed his attention, he was traverſed by ano-of greater importance; and he had intelligence of approach of a more formidable enemy; which was ar. Pharnaces rightly judged, that his firſt con-was to endeavour to put a ſtop to him; and ac-dingly he poſted himſelf on an eminence near Zela Zicla in Pontus, which place he thought of happy n, becauſe his Father had there defeated the Ro-s commanded by Triarius.

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. He obſerved the ſame conduct with Cæſar, as had ſucceeded with Domitius. He pretended to ſue for peace, at the ſame time that he was ſtrongly entrenched, and fully reſolved to continue the war. He ſent Ambaſſadors to Cæſar, with inſtructions, to preſent him with a crown of gold, and at the ſame time to declare his entire ſubmiſſion to his will. And as a proof that he did not deſerve to be treated as an enemy, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on his not having given any aſſiſtance to Pompey.

Cæſar replied, that particular ſervices were to him no compenſation for offences committed againſt the republic: and that after all, he had only ſerved himſelf in not engaging with a ruined party. He added, he was willing to pardon him, provided he would quit Pontus, and repair the damages he had there occaſioned. He refuſed to accept the golden crown, ſaying that Pharnaces ought firſt to return to his allegiance, and then he might ſend him ſuch preſents, as it was cuſtomary for victorious Generals to receive from their friends.

This artful Prince promiſed every thing, but never meant to keep his engagements. As he knew affairs of the utmoſt importance, and which would admit of no delay, required Cæſar's preſence at Rome, he thought by ſhuffling, and ſtarting difficulties about the manner and time of fulfilling his engagements, to tire out Cæſar's patience: and that in the end the General, ſatisfied with having a fair pretence to quit Pontus, would chooſe to go where his preſence was more requiſite.

Cæſar eaſily ſaw through Pharnaces's deſign: and inſtead of loſing time in cavilling, he reſolved to put an end to the affair, and to determine the war by a battle: To this reſolution, his natural activity and the neceſſity of circumſtances not a little contributed. However, his forces were very inconſiderable; he had only the ſixth legion, (which he had brought with him from Alexandria, and which, by long ſervice, fatiguing marches and frequent actions, was reduced

to leſs than a thouſand men), one legion of Dejotarus, and two others, which had been lately beaten under Domitius. But he knew, that ſuch a leader as himſelf was worth a whole army. He advanced therefore with theſe troops, within five miles of the enemy. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

The country where Pharnaces was encamped was full of hills ſeparated from each other by deep vallies. Oppoſite the hill where the King of Boſphorus lay, at only a mile's diſtance, was another on which Cæſar reſolved to take his poſt, and to entrench himſelf. With this view, he ordered a large collection to be made of faſcines, branches of trees, ſtones, and all ſorts of materials neceſſary for raiſing a rampart: which order being in a ſhort time executed, he marched with his legions three hours before day-light without any baggage: and at ſun-riſing, to the great ſurprize of the enemy, had got poſſeſſion of the hill he had made choice of for his poſt, and which was the very place where Triarius had been defeated by Mithridates. In a ſhort time all the ſlaves, which had followed his army, brought up the materials for the rampart; and whilſt the firſt line of the Roman troops made a front towards the enemy encamped on the oppoſite hill, the reſt of the ſoldiers worked hard at the entrenchment.

Pharnaces, who ſaw his whole proceeding, immediately drew out his army in order of battle at the head of his camp. Cæſar looked on this as a bravado, not imagining any mortal could be hardy enough to bring troops down into a valley, who muſt afterwards aſcend a very ſteep hill, before they could attack him. Pharnaces, through a preſumption of which it is to no purpoſe to ſeek the motive, dared attempt what Cæſar thought impracticable, and made his motion with ſuch celerity, that he ſurprized the Roman s who perceived the enemy juſt upon them, whilſt they were yet employed at their work. So that Cæſar had not only his workmen to call in, but to order them to arms, and to draw them up in order of battle. All this could not be done, at once, without

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. ſome diſorder, which was augmented by ſeeing the chariots armed with ſcythes, which marched in the front of Pharnaces's army. But the Romans ſoon recovered themſelves from this confuſion, and aided by their advantageous ſituation, eaſily repulſed the enemy. The victory begun by the right wing, where the veterans of the ſixth legion were poſted. Soon after, the left and center had the ſame ſuperiority. Pharnaces's ſoldiers were either ſlain or thrown headlong into the valley. Thoſe who eſcaped the battle flung away their arms, that they might not impede their flight. Cæſar purſued them, and without giving them time to rally, attacked their camp and forced it. During the attack of the camp, Pharnaces found means to eſcape.

Appian. It is reported that Cæſar himſelf was aſtoniſhed at the eaſe with which he gained this victory, and expreſſed himſelf in the following manner: "Happy Pompey! ſuch then are the enemies, by whoſe defeat you have acquired the appellation of Great."

In a letter to one of his friends at Rome giving an account of this action, he deſcribed the rapidity of his victory, by theſe three remarkable words; VENI VIDI, VICI: I came, ſaw, and conquered. And when he triumphed on this occaſion, he cauſed a tablet to be carried in the proceſſion, with theſe very words inſcribed on it in capitals.

Appian. Mithrid. Dio. In effect Cæſar might well boaſt to have compleatly ſubdued his enemy by the gain of this ſingle battle; for by it he put an end to the war. Pharnaces having retired to Sinope, was purſued thither by Domitius, who compelled him to quit that city, and ſoon after the whole country. Through his fooliſh ambition he now found he had no place left, where to ſeek protection. For the Boſphorus was in the hands of Aſander, who had revolted, as has been related. So that when this fugitive Prince was diſpoſed to return home to his kingdom, he found the rebel in a condition to diſpute him the poſſeſſion. This drew on a battle wherein

herein Pharnaces was ſlain. Such was the end of all his ambitious projects. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

Cæſar, at laſt at liberty to return to Rome, loſt no Hirt.
me after the victory over Pharnaces. He ſet out
e very next day, eſcorted by a party of horſe, or-
ering the ſixth legion to follow him, and receive in
aly the reward due to ſoldiers, who had done ſo
uch and ſuch great ſervices for their General. In
aſſing through Gallo-græcia and Bithynia, he ſettled
e affairs of the Princes, and inhabitants of thoſe
ountries: and it was then he took his revenge on
ejotarus, to whom, according to Cicero, he had a Cic. Phil.
erſonal hatred. He exacted large ſums of money II. 94, 95.
om him: took from him Armenia, which the Se-
ate had given him, and beſtowed it on Ariobarzanes:
alſo ſtripped him of part of Gallo-græcia, and made
preſent of it to Mithridates of Pergamus. This Dio.
me Mithridates was by him ordered to make war on
ſander, and appointed King of the Boſphorus, when
e had conquered it.

We know not particularly, what other regulations
æſar made, with reſpect to all thoſe countries and
ith reſpect to Aſia properly ſo called. We only
now, that his great application was to raiſe money
y all ſorts of means. He cauſed payment to be
ade of thoſe ſums of money, which had been pro-
iſed Pompey, exacting at the ſame time freſh ones
n various pretences. He made no ſcruple to plun-
er temples, and received a great number of golden
owns from the Princes and inhabitants of different
ities and countries. In this he only ſtuck to his
rinciples, of which he made no ſecret: ſaying,
"There are two expedients abſolutely neceſſary for
ſtabliſhing and confirming a government, ſoldiers
d money: And theſe two expedients mutually aſſiſt
ch other. By money, ſoldiers are raiſed, and ſe-
ured to your intereſt; and by the ſoldiers arms,
oney is levied: and if either of theſe expedients
il, the other cannot long ſubſiſt." Such were his
oughts, and ſuch was his diſcourſe, which implied

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. no more than the truth; but which to be lawfully p in practice, ſuppoſes it to be done by a legal author and to ſome lawful end.

Cæſar, having with his uſual application d patched all the affairs which detained him in t Eaſtern countries, hurried away for Italy, where arrived ſooner than was expected. But before I beg the relation of his tranſactions there, it is neceſſary f me to take notice of ſeveral events, which have n yet found place in my narration. In the firſt pla therefore, I ſhall give an account of the war in Il ricum, between the two factions which then divid the empire: In the next place, I ſhall relate ſome p ticular facts, which concern ſome Romans of diſtin tion and certain people of Greece. And ſhall def giving any account of the increaſe of the vanquiſh party in Africa, and of the commotions in Spain, u till it ſhall be neceſſary for me to ſpeak of Cæſar's wa in thoſe two provinces.

SECT. II.

The war in Illyricum between the partizans of Cæſar a Pompey. Calenus takes Athens, Megara and Pelopo neſus, for Cæſar. Death of Appius Claudius. Pr diction of the Pythian Oracle. Sulpicius and Marc lus make choice of a voluntary exile. Conſtancy of Ma cellus. Cicero is ill treated by his brother and nephe An account of Cicero's diſquietudes during his ſtay Brunduſium. He goes to Cæſar, and is favourably r ceived. State of Rome after the battle of Pharſal Cæſar appointed Dictator, and M. Anthony General the horſe. Miſconduct of Anthony. His rapine a injuſtice. Commotions in Rome occaſioned by Dolabel the Tribune. Cæſar, on his return to Rome, qu theſe troubles, without examining into paſt facts. Cæ ſar endeavours to raiſe money at any rate. He mak a ſale of the effects of the defeated party, particular Pompey's, which are bought by Anthony. Diſconte

betwixt Cæſar and Anthony on this head. Cæſar ingratiates himſelf with the people. Rewards the leaders of his party. Calenus and Vatinius appointed Conſuls. Cæſar cauſes himſelf to be nominated Dictator and Conſul for the enſuing year, and takes Lepidus for his Colleague in the Conſulſhip, and for his General of the horſe. Sedition among the Veteran ſoldiers. Cæſar appeaſes it by his reſolution. The principles of his conduct in regard to his ſoldiers.

WE have ſeen that Pompey's party was too ſtrong for Cæſar's in Illyricum. However, the city of Salonæ the capital of the country withſtood the torrent, and even maintained a ſiege againſt M. Octavius. This Lieutenant of Pompey, who, with the aſſiſtance of Libo, had drove out Dolabella, and taken C. Antonius priſoner, endeavoured at firſt to perſuade the Romans, ſettled in Salonæ, and maſters of the place, to open the gates to him. But not being able to ſucceed, he reſolved to attack the city and take it by ſtorm. The Romans, who defended it, were determined, notwithſtanding their few numbers, to abide all extremities, ſooner than forfeit their fidelity to Cæſar; and rather than ſurrender, they ſet at liberty all their ſlaves capable of bearing arms, and cut off their women's hair, to make uſe of it in their engines of war. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. Cæſ de B. C. l. III. 9.

Octavius, perceiving their obſtinacy, beſieged the city in form, and formed five camps round Salonæ. The beſieged made a vigorous defence: and although they were in great want of proviſions, they held out for a conſiderable time. Until one day about noon, obſerving that Octavius's ſoldiers were not at their poſts, and ſeemed remiſs in their duty, they diſtributed their women and children round the walls, to make a falſe ſhow to the enemy; at the ſame time that they themſelves, ſupported by the ſlaves to whom they had given freedom, made ſo vigorous and well conducted a ſally, that they carried Octavius's five camps, one after the other. This obliged him to

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. raiſe the ſiege: So making what haſte he could to his ſhips with the broken remains of his troops, he returned to Epirus. This affair happened while Pompey was yet at Dyrrachium.

The Romans of Salonæ had applied to Cæſar, during the ſiege, for a reinforcement, but he had not been able to ſend them any. The ſummer following the ſame in which he engaged Pompey, Cornificius came by his order into Illyricum, with two legions. He there had a double war to carry on, with the natives, and with M. Octavius, who after the battle of Pharſalia, had returned into the gulph with his fleet and endeavoured to draw over to his party, the inhabitants of the little iſles, and of the coaſts of Illyricum. Cornificius, by a conduct equally active and prudent, continually gained ſome advantage over theſe two-fold enemies.

When Cæſar was in purſuit of Pompey, he was informed that ſeveral of the vanquiſhed party had flung themſelves, in great bodies, into Illyricum, on the ſide of Macedonia. He was apprehenſive that they there might become powerful, and imagined, that Cornificius had need of a reinforcement. He therefore ordered Gabinius to march into that province with ſome new raiſed legions. Gabinius was one of Pompey's creatures, but had joined Cæſar in acknowledgment for having recalled him from exile, by the law paſſed in his firſt Dictatorſhip. Though his principles were bad, he nevertheleſs was brave, but he maintained not on this occaſion the reputation he had formerly acquired in Syria and in Egypt; and at the ſame time his hopes began to flatter him, and fortune ſeemed inclined to favour him, he met, in Illyricum with infamy, and death.

Illyricum being a barren country, it was not an eaſy matter for Gabinius to ſubſiſt an army there, eſpecially as the inhabitants were no friends to Cæſar's party. It was then the moſt rigid time of the year, and the winter, beſides incommoding the troops by its ſevere cold, prevented any convoys coming by ſea.

Gabi

Gabinius, having to contend with all theſe difficulties, made ſeveral attempts, and as often failed: he attacked caſtles garriſoned by the Barbarians, and was repulſed with loſs. The conſequence of which was, that he became contemptible to his enemies; ſo that when he returned to Salonæ they attacked his army, beat him, and killed a great number of his people. Gabinius, having retired into the city with the remains of his defeat, was there ſeized with a diſtemper of which he ſoon after died. A. R. 705 Ant. C. 47.

By his defeat and death, Octavius became abſolute in the province. His fleet commanded at ſea: and the natives of the country were his friends. Cornificius preſſed on all ſides with difficulty kept his ground, and Cæſar, then ſhut up in Alexandria, was at too great a diſtance, and too much employed, to think of Illyricum. The only reſource for Cæſar's party in this country, was a man, who has hitherto appeared in hiſtory, as a perſon of a mean ſoul, and depraved morals, but who nevertheleſs was of great intrepidity, and underſtood perfectly well the art of war.

The man I mean is Vatinius; who was then at Brunduſium; and being applied to by Cornificius to come to his aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding an indiſpoſition he then laboured under, undertook and executed this expedition, with a reſolution truly commendable. He had with him a good number of veteran ſoldiers, who had been left behind at Brunduſium, on account of ſickneſs, at the time Cæſar's legions went into Greece. But he wanted ſhips, or at leaſt he had not ſufficient to form a fleet capable of engaging Octavius: Whereupon he wrote to Fufius Calenus, whom Cæſar had left in Achaia, to ſend him as many as he had occaſion for; but this ſupply not coming ſo ſoon as the exigence of affairs required, he determined to make uſe of ſuch as he had. To ſome large ſhips of war, which were in the port of Brunduſium, he made an addition of great numbers of ſmall veſſels, which he armed with beaks: and on board this fleet, compoſed in

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. in this manner, he embarked his veteran troops, and gave chace to Octavius.

This latter actually fled from Vatinius, and even raiſed the ſiege of Epidaurus, which was then begun. But having had information of the ſtrength of the enemy's fleet, and knowing his own to be far ſuperior in number and rate of ſhips, he halted in a port of a little iſland called Tauris, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an engagement. As Vatinius purſued his courſe, he ſaw, all on a ſudden, Octavius's fleet coming out of harbour in line of battle.

Surpriſed he was, but not diſconcerted: he immediately gave the ſignal for fight; and being ſenſible that his ſhips could not engage the enemy's but at great diſadvantage, he determined to reſt the affair entirely on courage, and accordingly ordered the galley on which he was aboard, and which was of five banks of oars, to attack the Admiral-galley of the enemy. In the firſt ſhock, which was very violent, Octavius's galley loſt its beak. Immediately the veſſels of both parties moved up to the aſſiſtance of their Chiefs, and as they cloſed in on all ſides, there was no longer a poſſibility of working any of them. It was now a cloſe engagement, and nothing could have happened more favourable for Vatinius's ſoldiers, whoſe bravery and experience aſſured them victory, as ſoon as they could have an opportunity of boarding. Octavius's galley was ſunk; many others ſhared the ſame fate, or were taken; numbers of his ſoldiers were killed or drowned; and it was with difficulty that he himſelf eſcaped with ſome few ſhips. Vatinius, after the victory, went to refreſh himſelf in the port, which Octavius had juſt quitted.

This victory was deciſive. Octavius fled to the coaſt of Greece, from whence he went to Sicily, and afterwards into Africa. No veſſel under Pompey's colours dared appear in the Adriatic: and the province of Illyricum obeyed the laws of Cæſar, and the orders of Cornificius. Vatinius after this glorious exploit returned to Brunduſium, without the loſs of a

ſingle

ſingle ſhip, or even, if you take literally the expreſſion of the ancient hiſtorian, of a * ſingle man. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

In Greece, the Athenians and Megarians had with difficulty received Cæſar's yoke. This General, ere the battle of Pharſalia had been fought, had ſent Fufius Calenus, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, to make war againſt Pompey's Lieutenants, who were in poſſeſſion of the Southern provinces. Fufius would have been glad to have penetrated into Peloponneſus; but Rutilius Lupus, one of the Chiefs of the contrary party, having taken the precaution to raiſe a wall croſs the Iſthmus, Fufius went and laid ſiege to Athens, and immediately took the Piræeus, whoſe fortifications had been raiſed by Sylla. Nevertheleſs the Athenians were ſo obſtinately ſet againſt Cæſar, that they ſtill held out, till hearing of Pompey's defeat, they opened their gates to Calenus. Cæſar, whoſe clemency they implored by their deputies, pardoned them, not without reproaching them in the following manner: "† Muſt you ever "be indebted to the glory of your anceſtors, for pro- "tecting you from a puniſhment, which your own "actions have incurred?" Dio. Appian.

The inhabitants of Megara ſhould have followed the example of the Athenians, in their ſubmiſſion. But, to their misfortune, they were obſtinate enough to ſtand a ſiege. After a pretty long reſiſtance, perceiving the enemy intended to ſtorm the city, they thought of letting looſe ſome lions, which Caſſius had left to be taken care of in their city, till he ſhould ſend for them to Rome, for the games he intended to give on his being choſen Ædile; which office he then made application for. But the lions were no ſooner at liberty than, inſtead of ſeizing Calenus's ſoldiers, they turned on the Megarians themſelves, and tore ſeveral of them to pieces, ſo that they became objects of compaſſion and horror to their very Plut. Brut.

* Suis omnibus incolumibus.

† Πυσάμις ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφᾶν αὐτῶν ἀπολωμένους ἢ δίξα τῶν προγόνων σωσούσα. APPIAN.

enemies.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 47. enemies. The reſt of the inhabitants were ſold to ſlavery. But Calenus had ſo much conſideration and compaſſion for them, as to ſell them to buyers who had ſome friendſhip for them, and that at a very moderate price; to the intent that theſe unfortunate Megarians might have it in their power to ranſom themſelves, and that ſo ancient and illuſtrious a city might be able to recover itſelf.

Cæſar's victory at Pharſalia opened a paſſage for Calenus into Peloponneſus. He marched towards Patræ, where Cato, as I have already mentioned, after leaving the iſle of Corcyra, had brought the chief part of Pompey's fleet. On his approach, Cato retired: and Calenus met with no further oppoſition throughout all Greece.

I have only now to take notice of ſome particular facts, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. And the firſt of this kind which occurs to me, is the death of Appius Claudius. A man more eminent on account of his rank and family, than for his merit, but whoſe high birth has given him a place among the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Rome. He had followed Pompey, whoſe eldeſt ſon had married his daughter, and had been deputed by that General, at the commencement of the war, to command in Achaia. Appius, being very uneaſy, and apprehending a reverſe of fortune, more on his own account, than in conſideration of the cauſe he had eſpouſed, determined to conſult the oracle at Delphos, on the ſucceſs of the war. He had even been addicted to divination in all its branches, and had made a ſerious ſtudy of this pretended ſcience. The difficulty here was to make the Pythia ſpeak. For the oracle had been ſo long neglected, and the Prieſteſs got ſo little honour and profit by the exerciſe of her function, that it was not worth her while to expoſe herſelf to the fatigue and danger of the frantic rage, which the exhalations of the grot of Apollo excited in her. She therefore refuſed to enter the cave, and to place herſelf on the Tripod, till Appius made uſe of his authority, and com-

Lucan. l. V.

compelled her to a compliance. Whereupon ſhe returned him this anſwer: "* Roman, this war is none "of your concern; you ſhall obtain the country of "Eubœa." This prediction, which ſeems to have been adapted to the inclinations of Appius, which doubtleſs the Pythia was not unacquainted with, had a different event, than what he, to whom it was addreſſed, expected. He was in hopes, that undiſturbed in ſome corner of Eubœa, he might ſee the whole univerſe in a ferment, without being affected by its emotions. In effect he avoided the diſaſters of the war, but it was by a diſeaſe, which brought him to his grave. Pompey appointed Rutilius Lupus his ſucceſſor, who built the wall croſs the Iſthmus, as has been related. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

After the battle of Pharſalia, two illuſtrious fugitives, Serv. Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, agreed in the ſame meaſures with regard to their conduct, tho' otherwiſe of very different characters. We have ſeen them joint Conſuls, and found that at the time Marcellus treated Cæſar with great haughtineſs, Sulpicius was always inclined to be more moderate. As to the latter he was of a very mild diſpoſition, and was one of the laſt who determined to go into Greece, in order to join Pompey; and what induced him at length to take this hazardous reſolution, was probably the ill ſucceſs which ſeemed at firſt to threaten Cæſar, in the Spaniſh war againſt Afranius and Petreius. For Pompey was no ſooner defeated than Sulpicius gave over all thoughts of war. He ſeems even to have done more, and to have at the ſame time taken the † reſolution of giving up the ſatisfaction of living in his native country. He therefore retired to ſome city of Greece or Aſia, in order to paſs the remainder of his days in the ſtudy of philoſophy and polite learning, to which he had always greatly

* Nihil ad te hoc, Romane, bellum pertinet. Eubœæ Cœla obtinebis. VAL. MAX. I. 8. OROS. VI. 15.

† What I here mention of Sulpicius, is not actually related of him by any author, but I infer it from ſome paſſages in Cicero, particularly in the ſeventh letter of XI. book to Atticus, and of the third of the IV. book, ad Famil.

applied

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. applied himſelf. But Cæſar, who paid great regard to mildneſs and moderation, drew him ſome time after from this inaction, and appointed him Proconſul of Achaia, as I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention.

As for M. Marcellus, Sulpicius's Collegue, it is a known fact he retired to Mitylene, and there applied himſelf more than ever to the ſtudy of eloquence and philoſophy, having for his inſtructor Cratippus the philoſopher, who is well known by the commendations Cicero beſtows on him in ſeveral paſſages. As Marcellus was of a great ſoul, philoſophy to him was not a barren ſpeculation: by its aſſiſtance he ſuſtained the traverſes of fortune with conſtancy, and found in the uprightneſs and purity of his intentions, a conſolation for the chance of events. Brutus, * ſpeaking as interlocutor in one of Cicero's dialogues, expreſſes great admiration of his conſtancy. But he has expreſſed himſelf more fully, and with more energy, in a work of his own, of which Seneca has preſerved ſome very memorable paſſages. "I † have ſeen, ſaid he, Marcellus in his exile at Mitylene, enjoying all the felicity that human nature is capable of, and more deſirous than ever of uſeful knowledge. And when I left him, I could not think I was taking leave of a baniſhed man, but rather that I myſelf was going into baniſhment." He added, that Cæſar had paſſed by Mitylene, without making any ſtay there, becauſe he could not ſupport the ſight of a man of ſo much merit, reduced to a ſituation ſo unworthy of him. "How glorious was it for Marcellus, ſays Seneca,

* Maximè laudandus eſt, qui hoc tempore ipſo —— conſoletur ſe quum conſcientiâ optimæ mentis, tum etiam uſurpatione & renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum, atque, ut dixi, vidi planè virum. CIC. Bruto, n. 250.

† Brutus ait ſe vidiſſe Marcellum Mitylenis exſulantem, &, quantùm modò natura hominis pateretur, beatiſſimè viventem; neque unquam bonarum Artium cupidiorem, quàm illo tempore. Itaque adjicit, viſum ſibi ſe magis in exſilium ire, qui ſine illo rediturus eſſet, quàm illum in exſilio relinqui——Illum exſulem Brutus relinquere non potuit, Cæſar videre. Contigit enim illi teſtimonium utriuſque. Brutus ſine Marcello reverti ſe doluit, Cæſar erubuit. SEN. de Conſol. ad Helv. n. 9.

that

that in his exile he ſhould create envy in Brutus, and confuſion in Cæſar. Each of them has beſtowed a very honourable commendation on him; Brutus was concerned to return to Rome without him, and Cæſar was aſhamed." It was on Cæſar's return from Aſia, after defeating Pharnaces, that Brutus, who accompanied him, viſited Marcellus at Mitylene. A.R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

I ſcarce know of any but Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, who thus made choice of a voluntary exile, after the battle of Pharſalia. As for the reſt, thoſe who did not join Cato, in order to renew the war in Africa, had recourſe to the conqueror's clemency, and applied for leave to return into Italy, and to Rome. Many of theſe latter remained in Achaia under Calenus, waiting for a deciſion of their fate from Cæſar's hands, whom other buſineſs employed for a long time in Alexandria. They all of them ſooner or later obtained what they deſired: but we are not able to be particular on this head, unleſs as to what regards the two Q. Cicero's, father and ſon, who on this occaſion acted an unbecoming part.

It muſt be remembered, that Q. Cicero, brother to the Orator, had ſerved as Cæſar's Lieutenant in Gaul. This however did not prevent his ſiding with Pompey in the civil war, which could not but be highly diſpleaſing to his former General. Beſides, Cæſar thought that he was the occaſion of his brother's leaving Italy, and * had beat up for him. This is the expreſſion he made uſe of, to imply the ſignal of his departure. Cicero was at Brunduſium, in great anxiety as to what treatment he was to expect, when he was informed of this expreſſion of Cæſar: and though he had already cauſe to complain of his brother; yet as he had even had a great affection and regard for him, he immediately wrote to Cæſar, in the following terms. "I am † not leſs ſenſibly concerned for my brother, than for Cic. ad Att. l. XI.

* Quintum fratrum lituum meæ profectionis fuiſſe. Cic. ad Att. XI. 11.

† De Quinto fratre meo non minùs laboro, quàm de me ipſo: ſed eum tibi commendare hoc meo tempore non audeo. Illud duntaxat tamen

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. for myſelf: and though in my preſent ſituation, it would be preſumption in me to ſpeak in his behalf, yet thus far I dare venture to intreat you not to think, that it was through his fault that I failed in duty, or affection to you. He always exhorted me to remain in your intereſt: and when we ſet out together from Italy, he only accompanied me, not led me, in that journey. In all other reſpects, it would be improper for me to intercede for him; and your natural mildneſs, and the friendſhip ſubſiſting betwixt you and him, muſt determine you. But if the conſideration of my name can be of no ſervice to him, at leaſt I beg, and repeat my inſtances, that it may do him no detriment."

This letter, which is full of brotherly affection, is at the ſame time wrote with great prudence and circumſpection, and does honour to Cicero. His brother did not obſerve the like conduct in regard to him: for when he retired to Patræ, after Pompey's defeat, he was not ſatisfied with declaiming againſt Cicero, to any one that would give him the hearing, he even contrived to make Cæſar acquainted with his unbecoming invectives. And his ſon, a youth of a violent, impetuous temper, went into Aſia, not ſo much with intention to obtain his father's pardon, as to impeach his uncle. All Cæſar's friends, who were for the moſt part all Cicero's, reſented the ingratitude of his brother. They nevertheleſs were favourable to him, knowing, that though Cicero was, without doubt, concerned at the ill return made him by his relations, yet he was far from deſiring to be revenged on them. Quintus the ſon, who met with Cæſar at Antioch, obtained the pardon he came to apply for, through the recommendation of Hirtius.

tamen audebo petere abs te, quod te oro, ne quid exiſtimes ab illo factum eſſe, quo minùs mea in te officia conſtarent, minuſve te diligerem: potiuſque ſemper illum auctorem noſtræ conjunctionis fuiſſe, meique itineris comitem, non ducem. Quare ceteris in rebus tantum ei tribues, quantum humanitas tua veſtraque amicitia poſtulat. Ego ei ne quid apud te obſim, id te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Id. ibid.

This

This was not the only vexation Cicero met with, during his ſtay at Brunduſium; not to mention his domeſtic affairs, his eſtate running to ruin, the bad economy of his wife, the unhappy ſituation of his favourite daughter Tullia, who was obliged to be divorced from Dolabella, and had not wherewith to ſupport her rank. All theſe facts concern Cicero's private life, and are no part of a general hiſtory. But beſides ſo many ſubjects of grief, the cruel uncertainty he remained in for near a year, was to him ſo tormenting, that he was abſolutely diſpirited. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. Cic. ad Att. l. XI.

Immediately on his arrival at Brunduſium, he ran a very great riſk. For preſently after Anthony alſo came there, with the victorious legions of Pharſalia. He might, had he been ſo diſpoſed, put Cicero to death, who had returned into Italy of his own accord, or at leaſt without any ſign manual of Cæſar. Anthony forebore making uſe of his power, and in the ſequel made great merit of this pretended piece of ſervice, which Cicero very rightly ſtiles a highwayman's courteſy, who boaſts to have given a perſon his life, becauſe he did not deprive him of it. But at laſt he acknowledges, that Anthony, at that juncture, had the power of diſpoſing of him as he thought proper. Though he was freed from this danger, yet he was not free from inquietude. For having conceived hopes, that Cæſar would not be long before he came to Italy, or at leaſt, that wherever he might happen to be, he would not fail ſending him ſome aſſurances of his friendſhip; the Alexandrian war entirely diſconcerted him. Cæſar was then too buſy to think of objects more remote, and was a long time without ſending any advices into Italy. During this interval he was nominated Dictator; and Mark Anthony having under him the title and authority of General of the horſe, Cicero's fate ſtill depended on him. Cic. Phil. II. 59.

This General of the horſe was far from obſerving the ſame moderation, or confining himſelf within the ſame bounds as his Dictator. He had like to have ſo far affronted Cicero, as to force him to leave Italy, on

A.R. 705. Ant. C. 47. Cic. ad Att. XI. 7. the following pretence. Cæſar, on a falſe report which had been ſpread, that Cato was returned into Italy and intended to appear publickly at Rome, wrote to Anthony, by no means to ſuffer it: adding, that his intention was, that no one of thoſe, who had taken up arms againſt him, ſhould be permitted to ſtay in Italy, without his expreſs leave. Anthony acquainted Cicero with this letter, at the ſame time making it a different apologies for his being obliged to carry it into to execution. Cicero diſpatched a friend to him, to repreſent, that it was by virtue of a letter from Dolabella, wrote by Cæſar's order, that he had come to Brunduſium. By this means he was permitted to ſtay there; but he had the mortification to find the exception, made in his favour, particulariſed in the manifeſto publiſhed by Anthony, conformable to Cæſar's letter. So that he ſaw himſelf publickly poſted up, as under ſubjection to the conqueror, at the ſame time, ſo many others either ſtill maintaining the cauſe of liberty, or at leaſt made their peace privately, and without making the world acquainted with it.

Such treatment could not but make him uneaſy, and the Dictator's ſilence ſtill kept him in greater perplexity. At length, about the beginning of June, he Ibid. 16, 17. received a letter, which, he was told, came from Cæſar. But as it was couched in indefinite terms, and wrote with great coolneſs, he ſuſpected its being ſupoſititious. 'Tis probable he was not out in his conjecture, and that Balbus and Oppius, friends to Cæſar and Cicero, had, in conjunction with Atticus, framed this letter to comfort and give eaſe to a man, who ſunk under the weight of his afflictions. Cicero remained two months longer in this uncertainty. Cic. ad Fam. XIV. 23. the beginning of Auguſt he received a letter from Cæſar, with which, he owns to his wife, he was tolerably ſatisfied. This is doubtleſs the ſame letter he ſpeaks of, in his oration for Ligarius, and where Pro Lig. n. 7. Cæſar wiſhes him to continue to enjoy all the prerogatives, and all the honours he had been poſſeſſed of

at the ſame time permitting him to retain the title of Imperator, with the Lictors and Faſces, which had conſtantly remained with him, ſince his being Proconſul of Cilicia. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

Cicero, to his real evils, added imaginary ones. He ſuſpected the facility with which Cæſar forgave his enemies, and conceived it might be only an artifice: and imagined that the Dictator, not having actually time to examine into the different circumſtances of the perſons who applied to him, reſerved himſelf for a further inquiry, when he ſhould be more at leiſure. Cicero was not entirely free from theſe apprehenſions, 'till Cæſar's return into Italy. He went to meet him, and was received by him in ſo gracious and frank a manner, that at laſt he was perſuaded that the paſt was entirely forgotten. Cic. ad Att. XI. 20, 21.

Cæſar, on his coming to Rome, found every thing there in a flame. Of which I muſt now give the reader ſome account. Plut. Cic.

We do not abound in memoirs as to what paſſed at Rome, and in Italy, during Cæſar's abſence. He himſelf is ſilent on that head in his Commentaries: and his continuators, after his example, have confined themſelves to the relation of military tranſactions only. So that for the principal facts relating to civil affairs, we have ſcarce any other authority than Dio, a inſipid writer, with whom 'tis common to abridge and alter whatever paſſes under his pen, and who ſhould be read with diffidence and circumſpection, if you would not be led into very great errors.

It was either by publick report, or private letters, that the account of the battle of Pharſalia came to Rome. For Cæſar, through moderation and modeſty, forbore ſending any account of it to the Senate; not being willing to inſult Pompey's ill ſucceſs, or to ſeem to triumph at the misfortunes of the public. The city had for a long time been ſubject to Cæſar. So that Pompey's defeat and death produced no other effect here, than to ſtrengthen and confirm the conqueror's Dio. l. XLII.

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. power. Every thing remained quiet during the adminiſtration of Servilius Iſauricus the Conſul.

It was he doubtleſs who, by virtue of his poſt, and by order of the Senate, nominated Cæſar Dictator for the whole enſuing year. The choice of a General of the horſe properly depended on the Dictator: but Cæſar was at too great a diſtance to wait his orders: So that his friends procured this honourable poſt for Anthony. The election of the other magiſtrates, ſuch as Conſuls, Prætors, Curule Ædiles, and Quæſtors, became impracticable after the nomination of the Dictator. As ſoon as there was a Dictator appointed, his power abſorbed the reſt of the magiſtracy, who had no longer any function, but ſuch as he pleaſed to aſſign them; and he particularly preſided at elections. This right in equity was, in the preſent circumſtances, backed by force: and nobody was ſo hardy as even to form conjectures of Cæſar's intentions in regard to the adminiſtration, as Pompey's ruin had made his power abſolute. So that on the firſt of January there was no other magiſtrate in the whole empire (the Tribunes and Ædiles of the people excepted) but Cæſar, Dictator, then ſhut up in Alexandria, and Mark Anthony, General of the horſe, enjoying in Rome an unlimited, undivided power.

It would have been difficult for the adminiſtration to have fallen into worſe hands: nor can any thing be imagined more vicious, or more indecent than Anthony's perſonal behaviour. Conſtant debaucheries, drunkenneſs, the low company of buffoons and actreſſes, intemperance to that exceſs, as even to vomit in the Forum, and in the execution of his office: theſe were the ſcenes wherewith Rome was entertained by its ſingle magiſtrate. And it was thought very extraordinary that, at the time Cæſar expoſed himſelf to the greateſt fatigues, and confronted the greateſt dangers, in order to put an end to a war of ſuch importance, and of ſo great difficulty; he, who appeared the chief of his party, ſhould have no other concern than what to eat, and wherewith to get drunk.

Cic. Phil. II. n. 63. & ſeq. Plut. Anton.

Y

Yet this ſhameleſs manner of living in Anthony, hurt none but himſelf; but his rapine and exactions were the ruin of many citizens. Deſcended from a prodigal, extravagant father, and he himſelf ſtill more prodigal and extravagant, one may gueſs at the ill ſituation of his affairs. Seeing therefore the power in his hands, he made uſe of that opportunity to retrieve his fortune, or rather, to indulge his rage of expence. He pillaged on all ſides, ſold publickly the laws of property, beſtowing on ſome, eſtates, which they had no right to, and taking from others, their lawful inheritance. It may be imagined he did not want for pretences, in a city abounding with malecontents, and whoſe citizens, for the moſt part, regretted the loſs of the ancient manner of government, and only ſubmitted to the reigning tyranny, through neceſſity. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

He alſo endeavoured to terrify people into obedience. For which purpoſe, when he preſided at the public aſſemblies and games, he kept his ſword by his ſide, which had never been done before in Rome; and was always accompanied by a number of ſoldiers ready to put his orders in execution. Dio.

The city, by reſigning its liberty, might have hoped to have been no longer embroiled: but Dolabella would not permit the Romans to enjoy that ſlender conſolation. He was a young man of great parts and courage, bold and ambitious, and further, involved in debt, as were the majority of thoſe who had ſided with Cæſar. In order to get rid of all his creditors, and at the ſame time make a number of friends, by a project which could not fail pleaſing the majority of the victorious party, he revived the ſcheme attempted the preceding year by Cœlius, and reſolved to procure an act of inſolvency. The office of Tribune of the people, which ſubſiſted, even when all other offices were vacant, was the only method for Dolabella to put his deſign in execution. Although Patrician born, he got over that obſtacle, by enrolling himſelf, after the example of Clodius, in the Plebeian order, and was appointed Tribune. He was no

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. ſooner inveſted with the office, than he propoſed his law for aboliſhing all debts; and, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the populace, he propoſed a ſecond, as Cœlius had done, which exempted tenants from paying any rent to their landlords. Theſe laws highly incenſed all the men of probity yet remaining in Rome, and two of Dolabella's collegues, * Aſinius and Trebellius, formally oppoſed them. This gave riſe to quarrels, animoſities and ſkirmiſhes, which put the whole city in a ferment.

It ſuited Anthony's circumſtances extremely well, to take the advantage of a law, which cancelled all debts: ſo that at firſt he favoured Dolabella's propoſal. But it happened, that at this very time he had ſome ſuſpicions, well or ill founded, of a criminal intrigue between his wife and the Tribune. Whereupon he divorced his wife, who was likewiſe his couſin-german, the daughter of C. Antonius, Cicero's collegue. And as this made a breach betwixt him and Dolabella, he made an offer of his ſervice to the Senate, who oppoſed with all its might the paſſing of laws, productive of ſedition, and deſtructive of all faith in ſociety, and credit in trade. Numbers of people, who had taken up arms on this occaſion, ſided with the Tribune. Anthony, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, which enjoined him, in conjunction with the other Tribunes, to be careful of the ſafety of the city, forbid any one to carry arms, who was not in the ſervice of the republic, and introduced freſh troops into Rome, beſides what he had for his proper guard. Dolabella, who perceived himſelf favoured by the multitude, maintained his ground obſtinately both againſt the Senate and againſt the General's ſoldiers. And what made him the rather perſiſt in this obſtinacy, were the accounts received of Cæſar's ſituation in Alexandria, which was ſaid to be very hazardous, inſomuch that it was the opinion of many that he muſt there periſh. When Cæſar had ſurmounted

* This Aſinius is perhaps the famous Pollio,

all

ll the difficulties in Egypt, Dolabella, apprehending A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.
is juſt diſpleaſure, ſeemed to be willing to be more oderate. But the commotions in Aſia, and the war ith Pharnaces, being ſtill ſo many impediments to e Dictator's return, the Tribune reſumed his auda-ty, and once more laid aſide that circumſpection he d aſſumed through policy, and a dread of the Dic-ator's reſentment.

During theſe tranſactions, Anthony was obliged to ave Rome, to reduce to obedience Cæſar's veteran gions, who threatened to mutiny. The victorious gions had not received the rewards which had been romiſed them, and nevertheleſs they perceived that reſh ſervice was expected from them. For the twelfth gion was under orders to go into Sicily, doubtleſs be tranſported from thence into Africa againſt ato, Scipio and Juba. This legion refuſed to ſtir, Cic. ad Att. xi. 21, 22.
nleſs they firſt were paid what had been promiſed em: and when their officers endeavoured to bring em back to their duty, by reminding them of their eing liable to be puniſhed as mutineers, they were elted with ſtones, and obliged to retire. The other gions followed their example, and declared they ould not march, unleſs they were firſt paid their ar-ars. To put a ſtop to this diſorder was the buſineſs Anthony's journey; but Dio, who is the only au-or who takes notice of it, leaves us in the dark as its ſucceſs. He only ſays, that Anthony, by an nheard of and unprecedented ſtep, created to him-lf a Vicegerent, and appointed L. Cæſar, his uncle the mother's ſide, Governor of Rome in his ab-nce.

L. Cæſar was a man of high birth, great dignity, nd conſummate virtue: very capable of command-g people ſenſible of ſhame, or reſpect; but very nfit to cope with a perſon of Dolabella's reſolution nd audacity. So that during his adminiſtration, the dition was carried to the higheſt exceſs. The cre-itors on one ſide, and the debtors on the other, rmed two camps in the city, between whom were

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. daily ſkirmiſhes. They alternately ſeized advantageous poſts, and attacked each other with fire and ſword. Nay the diſorder was ſo great, that the Veſtals thought themſelves not ſafe in their temple, and removed from thence the ſacred relicks, with which they were intruſted.

Anthony on his return to Rome, received a freſh order from the Senate, to be careful of the ſafety and tranquillity of the public. The danger increaſed: Dolabella grew deſperate, and having fixed a day for the paſſing of his laws, he barricaded the avenues to the Forum, erected wooden turrets to prevent any approach, and made ſuch diſpoſitions as are uſual in a regular war, or where a ſiege is to be maintained. Anthony on his part aſſembled his troops in the Capitol, with which he forced the barriers, ſeized and broke to pieces the tables on which the laws were inſcribed, and having taken ſome of the ringleaders priſoners, he immediately executed them, by flinging them down the Tarpeian rock. This ſeverity, however, did not put an end to the troubles, and the ſedition was not appeaſed until the news of the ſudden defeat of Pharnaces, and of Cæſar's being on his march home. Nor were the diviſions and animoſities totally ſuppreſſed till the arrival of the Dictator, whoſe preſence inforced an awe and reſpect, which quieted every body.

The leaſt Dolabella could have expected, was the loſs of Cæſar's favour. But this ſubtle politician was never ſevere to ſuch, as had been or might be uſeful to him. Beſides, the general complaint againſt Anthony rendered his adverſary's cauſe more favourable. Cæſar put them both on a level, by pardoning them both.

Nor did he call any one to account, either of his own, or Pompey's party, for what was paſt. But as he had been at a very great expence, and as the African war had need of immediate ſupplies, he endeavoured to raiſe money by all ſorts of methods. It had been cuſtomary to preſent crowns of gold, and

to erect ſtatues to victorious Generals. On this pretence Cæſar received great ſums, under the title of gratuities, and voluntary contributions. He alſo borrowed conſiderably of private perſons and from cities: who well knew, according to Dio, that they ſhould never be repaid the ſums they lent. But this is that Hiſtorian's own conſtruction; for it is more probable, that Cæſar, who made a point of being popular, had no thoughts of defrauding his creditors, whom he had made ſuch, through compulſion. Whatever might be his intentions, his death put it out of his power to reimburſe them. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

Another reſource, in itſelf deteſtable, but which he thought expedient to raiſe money, was to confiſcate the goods and effects of ſuch as had been killed in the civil war. Pompey himſelf was not exempt from this forfeiture. His eſtate, his houſe, his gardens, and his goods were ſold like thoſe of a public enemy, and bought by Anthony. Cicero has treated this tranſaction with a force of ſentiment which excites the grief and indignation of his readers, even at this diſtance of time. 'Tis one of the fineſt paſſages of the ſecond Philippic. "* Cæſar, ſays he, returned from Alexandria to Rome, happy in his own opinion, but in mine no one can be ſo, who has made his country unhappy. He gave orders for an auction before the temple of Jupiter Stator; and there the effects of Pompey (alas! though my tears ceaſe to flow, yet my grief is ſtill rivetted in my heart) the effects, I ſay, of Pompey were ſhamefully proclaimed by a bawling

* Cæſar Alexandria ſe recepit: ſelix, ut ſibi quidem videbatur; meâ autem ſententiâ ſi quis Reipublicæ ſit infelix, felix eſſe non poteſt. Haſtâ poſitâ pro æde Jovis Statoris, bona (miſerum me! conſumptis enim lacrymis, tamen infixus animo hæret dolor) bona, inquam, Cn. Pompeii Magni voci acerbiſſimæ ſubjecta præconis. Una illa in re ſervitutis oblita civitatis ingemuit; ſervientibuſque animis, quum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Expectantibus omnibus, quiſnam eſſet tam impius, tam demens, tam diis hominibuſque hoſtis, qui ad illud ſcelus ſectionis auderet accedere, inventus eſt nemo prætor Antonium, præſertim quum tot eſſent circum haſtam illam qui omnia auderent. Unus inventus eſt, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugiſſet & reformidaſſet audacia. Cic. Phil. II. p. 64.

cryer,

A. R. 705 Ant. C. 47. cryer. In this ſingle circumſtance Rome forgot its ſlavery, to give a free courſe to its ſighs: and ſpite of the terror which had enſlaved their ſpirits, the Roman people had yet the liberty of venting their groans. Every body was in expectation, nor could they gueſs, who could be ſo impious, ſo mad, ſuch an enemy to Gods and men, as by bidding for the effects of Pompey to acknowledge them a legal forfeiture. Anthony was the only perſon who offered. Among ſo many villains, capable of attempting any thing, who attended that auction, Anthony alone dared commit a crime, which ſhocked the moſt daring audacity."

One may judge by theſe violent invectives how much the old partiſans of Pompey, who had ſtill a majority in Rome, were affected at ſeeing the effects of this great man ſold at a public ſale. The want of money was Cæſar's motive: but ought this motive to have been more prevalent with him than the impolicy of exaſperating the people, or than the ſeveral inſtances of mildneſs and generoſity, which he had ſhewn on every other occaſion, wherein the memory of his unhappy rival was concerned?

This ill got booty did not long proſper with its purchaſer: all the moveables being preſently diſſipated, ſpoilt or loſt. Anthony in that not only followed the bent of his fooliſh extravagant temper; but as he conſidered this, rather as an acquiſition, than as a purchaſe, he perſuaded himſelf he ſhould never be called upon for payment of the purchaſe-money. This was by no means Cæſar's intention; who was very willing to give him time, but who nevertheleſs at his return from Africa, whither Anthony had not followed him, demanded, for the public uſe, the money, that Pompey's effects had been appraiſed at and ſold for. Anthony was not at all pleaſed with this proceeding: and in my opinion there is ſomething charming in the manner Cicero makes him expreſs himſelf on this occaſion. He introduces him expoſtulating in the following manner, which at once denotes his fur-

ſurpriſe and indignation. " * Does Cæſar demand money of me? have not I the ſame pretenſions to demand it of him? Has he conquered without me? he could not. It was I, who furniſhed him with a pretence for the civil war. It was I, who propoſed laws pernicious to the public. It was I, who took up arms againſt the Conſuls and Generals of the Republic, againſt the Senate and the Roman People, againſt the Gods of my country, againſt the altars and ſacred hearths, againſt my very country. Has he only conquered for himſelf? Since we are equally engaged in the crime, why ſhould we not equally ſhare the booty?" Cicero thinks this diſcourſe very reaſonable. "Your demands were juſt, ſays he to Anthony, but what is that to the purpoſe, the power was in Cæſar's hands." This appeared, by Cæſar's making a diſtreſs on the buyer and on his ſureties: which put Anthony under the neceſſity of expoſing to ſale the ſorry remains of Pompey's goods and effects, in order to raiſe money to ſatisfy his preſent demand. Some prior creditors oppoſed this ſale: and in the interim, Cæſar ſet out for Spain, to make war againſt Pompey's children. Cicero does not inform us, whether Anthony was at laſt obliged to pay. It is certain that Cæſar was afterwards reconciled to him, and that he kept poſſeſſion of Pompey's houſe. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

No doubt but the reſt of Cæſar's friends, as well as Anthony, took care to enrich themſelves at the expence of the vanquiſhed party. Cicero makes particular mention of P. Sylla, who was pretty deep in theſe no leſs baſe, than cruel acquiſitions. He had made ſo good uſe of his kinſman's Dictatorſhip, that under that Cic. de Off. II. 29.

* A me C. Cæſar pecuniam! Cur potiùs, quam ego ab illo? An ille ſine me vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis cauſa attuli: ego leges pernicioſas rogavi: ego arma contra Conſules imperatoreſque populi Romani, contra Senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios, araſque & focos, contra patriam tuli. Num ſibi ſoli vicit? Quorum facinus eſt commune, cur non ſit eorum præda communis?

Jus poſtulabas. Sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat. Id. ibid. n. 72.

of

A.R. 705. Ant. C. 47. of Cæſar, he returned to the carnage, and was one of the moſt forward and eager purchaſers.

Dio. At the ſame time that Cæſar endeavoured to raiſe money by various methods, he was no leſs ſtudious to gain the good will of the people: which is certainly a point of great importance to a new government. To that end, he purſued, at leaſt in part, the plan laid down by Dolabella; and made no ſcruple of being liberal of other people's effects. It is true he went not ſo far as a general abolition of debts: he poſitively refuſed it, though ſollicited to it by the people; ſaying, that he himſelf was incumbered with debts, but that he had no deſign to defraud his creditors. However, beſides the mitigation already granted by him, to the debtors, in his firſt Dictatorſhip, he further indulged them, by a diſcharge of all arrears accruing ſince the commencement of the civil war. And with reſpect to the tenants, he eaſed the poor citizens by an order, importing, that all, not renting above two thouſand ſeſterces annually in Rome (fifteen pounds, twelve ſhillings and ſixpence) ſhould be * exempt from payment of a year's rent, and of a quarter's only, in the other parts of Italy.

Suet. Cæſ. c. 42.

Cæſar's next care, which was not leſs eſſential, was to reward the leaders of his party, and the companions of his victory; by giving them promotions both in church and ſtate. Notwithſtanding the current year was near elapſed, he created, as I have already obſerved, Calenus and Vatinius Conſuls. He alſo appointed the Prætors, amongſt whom was Salluſt the Hiſtorian, who by this means took his ſeat again in the Senate, from whence he had been excluded by the laſt Cenſors. And that he might have more places to beſtow, he increaſed the number of Prætors, for the enſuing year, to ten.

Vatinius's Conſulſhip, which continued but a few days, was matter of mirth to Cicero. He ſaid, that

* This is Gronovius's † explanation of Suetonius, who in this paſſage is ſomewhat obſcure.

† De Pet. vet. II. 2.

there had happened, in Vatinius's Conſulſhip, a very extraordinary prodigy, in that there had been no change of ſeaſons during his whole magiſtracy. And on Vatinius's reproaching him, that he had not been to ſee him, during a fit of ſickneſs, which he had at that time; "I did intend, replied Cicero, to have viſited "you, during your Conſulſhip, but I was *benighted." Cicero was always affected by whatever appeared ridiculous or indecent, and on theſe occaſions he could not be ſilent. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. Macrob. Sat. II. 3.

Catullus conſidered the affair more ſeriouſly; and †was ſo diſguſted at the perſonal indignity of Vatinius, as in his poetical hyperbole to wiſh for death, rather than live to ſee the Conſulſhip degraded by ſo contemptible a magiſtrate. Cæſar, however, beſtowed ſome places on perſons of merit, but he was obliged to ſeek them in the adverſe party. He gave the government of Achaïa to Serv. Sulpicius, and of Ciſalpine Gaul to Brutus. Doubtleſs the Greeks had reaſon to applaud the adminiſtration of ſo accompliſhed a Magiſtrate as Sulpicius. With reſpect to Brutus, Plutarch is an evidence that he treated his province with all imaginable humanity and mildneſs; and what is more remarkable, he aſcribed all the merit to Cæſar, and endeavoured to procure, for him, the love and eſteem of the people. Brutus was a perſon of that probity and veracity, that when he ſought Cæſar's protection after the battle of Pharſalia, he immediately laid aſide all animoſities, and from that time ſerved him as a faithful friend. Though the glory of avenging oppreſſed liberty made him afterwards ſtrangely change his opinion in that reſpect; yet this opinion, as it will appear, was not abſolutely conformable to his own private ſentiments, but proceeded from a foreign impulſe. The inhabitants of Ciſal- Plut. Brut.

* Herein I follow Macrobius. But this witticiſm of Cicero ſeems more applicable to the Conſulſhip of Caninius Rebilus, which laſted but one day, and which we ſhall have occaſion to take notice of hereafter.

† Per Conſulatum pejerat Vatinius.
Quid eſt Catulle? quid moraris emori? Epig. 50.

pine

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. pine Gaul expreſſed their gratitude to their virtuous Governor, by erecting him a ſtatue in the market-place of Milan, which was yet to be ſeen in the days of Plutarch.

Cæſar made all neceſſary preparations for his ſpeedy paſſage into Africa, where the remains of Pompey's party were principally aſſembled, and became every day more formidable. He got himſelf to be continued in the Dictatorſhip, and to be appointed Conſul for the ſubſequent year, and he took, for his colleague in the Conſulſhip, and at the ſame time for his General of the horſe, M. Lepidus, who, as I have already related, had done him the ſervice of nominating him Dictator for the firſt time, contrary to all rules, he being himſelf no more than Prætor. Lepidus being inveſted with theſe two dignities, became the principal perſon in the ſtate, in the abſence of the Dictator, whom he repreſented as well in all Italy, as in Rome.

Every thing now ſeemed ready for Cæſar's departure. A furious ſedition, which broke out among the old legions, might poſſibly have retarded him, if the vigour and intrepidity of the moſt undaunted ſoul that ever exiſted, had not cruſhed in its infancy, an evil, which ſapped the very foundation of his fortune.

Suet. Cæſ. c. 70. Appian. Civ. l. ii. Dio.

I have already mentioned that theſe veteran ſoldiers brooked ill their not having yet received the rewards which had been promiſed them: and growing more bold, as they perceived themſelves more neceſſary, they inſolently inſiſted on the performance of their General's promiſe, and even demanded their diſcharge, as having compleated their time of ſervice. The ſedition firſt broke out in Campania: where the tenth legion ſignaliſed itſelf for being the moſt mutinous, till then particularly attached to Cæſar, and by him as diſtinguiſhedly honoured: but the remembrance of thoſe favours only ſerved to increaſe their pride and audacity. Cæſar had not at that time wherewith to ſatisfy their demands. He could only give them

them freſh aſſurances: and accordingly ſent Salluſt, who had been juſt created Prætor, with inſtructions to acquaint them, from him, that as ſoon as an end ſhould be put to the African war, beſides the diſtributions of land and money already due to them, he would add a further gratuity of a thouſand denarii (about thirty guineas) to each man. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

Theſe offers, ſo wide of the ſoldiers expectations, ſerved only to exaſperate them the more. Salluſt was obliged to his flight for the ſafety of his perſon: and the ſeditious, in the extremity of their reſentment, immediately ſet out for Rome, pillaging and plundering all the way of their march. They even killed ſeveral perſons; among others, two old Prætors, Coſconius and Galba.

Cæſar was under apprehenſions for the city. He cauſed the gates to be ſhut, and garriſoned the city with what troops he had. But he took theſe meaſures for the ſecurity of Rome, and not of his own perſon: for as ſoon as he was informed of the arrival of the mutineers in the field of Mars, he went to them; maugre the repreſentations of his friends, who were concerned for his ſafety. He boldly mounted his Tribunal, and with a menacing tone of voice, aſked the ſoldiers what had brought them thither, and what they wanted. This firſt ſtep ſo bold and imperious, began to diſconcert the mutineers. They durſt not mention the rewards; the delay in the diſtribution of which, had occaſioned the mutiny. They contented themſelves with repreſenting, that being worn out by fatigue, and impoveriſhed by the blood they had loſt in ſo many engagements, they were in hopes they might obtain their diſcharge. "I give it you," replied Cæſar, without any heſitation: and after a ſhort ſilence, to mix ſomething more mild, without derogating from the dignity and authority of his command, he added, "and when I ſhall have triumphed "with other troops, I nevertheleſs ſhall fulfil my en- "gagements with you."

The

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. The ſeditious were thunderſtruck by theſe words. They had no notion that Cæſar would have given them their diſcharge, at a time he ſtood in ſo much need of their ſervice. The promiſe of their being rewarded confounded them; and they were piqued with jealouſy to think, that after having ſupported the fatigue, and undergone the dangers of ſo many important wars, the honour of triumphing on that account ſhould be reſerved for other troops. Theſe ſeveral reflections ſtill increaſed their confuſion; but there yet appeared a ſpirit of mutiny among them, becauſe probably they could not be perſuaded that Cæſar would put his threats in execution, and diſpenſe with their ſervice. The Dictator on his part was for retiring, as having no more to ſay to them: but his friends conjured him not to treat the companions and aſſiſtants in his victories, with ſo much coldneſs and ſeverity. Whereupon he conſented to ſpeak to them once more, and to begin his ſpeech he made uſe of the word *Quirites*, as if he ſhould ſay citizens, becauſe he no longer conſidered them upon the footing of ſoldiers.

This expreſſion compleated their confuſion. They inſiſted, that they were ſoldiers, and had recourſe to the moſt ſubmiſſive entreaties, proteſting the ſincerity of their repentance. They aſked it as the greateſt favour, that he would take them with him into Africa, promiſing that they alone would defeat the enemy how numerous ſoever, and even offered to ſubmit to a decimation if he thought proper. Cæſar having brought them to the point he wiſhed for, nevertheleſs, for ſome time, ſupported his reſolution. He declared he had no intention to ſpill their blood; but ſaid that ſoldiers, who were yet capable of ſervice, and had refuſed to obey orders, deſerved no better treatment than to be broke. However, their ſollicitations and entreaties in the end got the better of his conſtancy, and he ſeemed to grant them as a favour, what it was his intereſt earneſtly to deſire. He continued only inflexible with reſpect to the tenth legion,

to

to whom he reproached their ingratitude, after ſo many marks of favour ſhown them. The ſoldiers of that legion were in the utmoſt deſpair, and not being able to obtain their pardon, voluntarily followed him into Africa. Though they came thither without being ordered, Cæſar, however, made uſe of them: but as they lay under the ignominy of being the moſt ſeditious and moſt obſtinate, he expoſed them on all hazardous occaſions, in order to get rid of them. And ſuch as eſcaped, and ſurvived the war did not, however, eſcape further puniſhment. They were retrenched a third of their ſhare in the booty, and in the diſtribution which he made of the lands, on his return to Italy. A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47.

It was ever his maxim to treat deſerters and mutineers with rigour: but for other faults, he was more mild and tractable. He often, after ſome conſiderable victory, diſpenſed with their ordinary duties, and permitted them to indulge themſelves in all reaſonable liberties, ſaying with great good humour, * that his ſoldiers, in the midſt of pleaſure and good cheer, could nevertheleſs fight ſtoutly, when there was an occaſion. In his harangues, he did not addreſs them, after the manner of the ancient Roman Generals, by the appellation of Soldiers, but he made uſe of a more endearing expreſſion, calling them Comrades. He was alſo very careful about their cloathing, and ornamented their arms with gold and ſilver, as well becauſe they naturally loved magnificence, as that the value of their armour might make them more careful not to loſe it. But in all affairs of mutiny, he made uſe of an inflexible ſeverity, knowing that he ſubdued his enemies to no purpoſe, if the troops, by whoſe aſſiſtance he conquered them, and kept them in ſubmiſſion, refuſed to obey him. Suet. Cæſ. c. 67.

* Jactare ſolitus, milites ſuos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare poſſe, nec Milites eos pro concione, ſed blandiori nomine Commilitones appellabat. SUET. Cæſ. c. 67.

A. R. 705. Ant. C. 47. All this is good policy, and might be of ſervice to the leader of a faction. But to indulge ſoldiers in luxury, is contrary to all good rules, and unbecoming a commander inveſted with a lawful authority.

As ſoon as Cæſar had quelled the above-mentioned mutiny, he prepared to ſet out for Africa. Before I follow him thither, I ſhall give ſome account of the ſtrength of the forces of Pompey's party in that province.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTY-SIXTH.

CONTAINING Cæſar's war in Africa. Cato's death. Cæſar's triumphs. His plan of Government, and his application towards reforming divers abuſes. Anno Romæ 706.

SECT. I.

Metellus Scipio comes into Africa, to meet Varus and Juba. His character. They are joined by Cato. Cato's march through the deſerts of Libya. He makes Juba ſenſible of Scipio's authority, by himſelf ſubmitting to ſerve under him. He ſaves Utica, which Juba would have demoliſhed, and ſhuts himſelf up there. Strength of the vanquiſhed party in Africa. Cæſar goes into Africa. His inconceivable diſpatch. His caution to obviate the vulgar ſuperſtitions. He had at firſt but few troops with him, and thoſe very ill provided. Labienus attacks him. A great battle, wherein Cæſar is put to great difficulties. Magnanimity of one of Labienus's ſoldiers, who was lately come out of ſlavery. Cæſar's difficulties and dangerous ſituation. Juba begins his march to join Scipio. He is obliged to return to the defence of his Kingdom, invaded by Sittius. Cæſar

*keeps close in his camp. He endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people of the Province. A great number of Getulians and Numidians desert and come over to him. He receives a reinforcement of troops and provisions. Cato advises Scipio to protract the war, but seeing his counsel rejected, repents having given up the command. Scipio's cruelty to a Centurion and some veteran Soldiers of the enemy. A terrible storm, which greatly incommodes Cæsar's army. Panic among Cæsar's troops, on the approach of Juba. Singular expedient made use of by Cæsar to encourage them. Juba's pride and arrogance. Junction of all Cæsar's forces. He punishes five officers. A remarkable instance of Cæsar's activity. He puts P. Ligarius to death, for having continued in arms against him, notwithstanding the pardon granted him in Spain. Cæsar particularly applies himself to the disciplining of his troops. Battle of Thapsus. Memorable engagement of a Soldier with an elephant. Cæsar proceeds to attack Utica. Cato is willing to defend the town, but finds nobody disposed to second him. Whereupon having taken a resolution to dispatch himself, his whole attention is employed in securing the retreat of the Senators that had accompanied him. Cato's last supper. His death. Reflexions thereon. Cato truly valuable for the mildness which accompanied his resolution. He may be considered as one of the most virtuous men Paganism ever produced. Inexcusable behaviour to his wife Marcia. His funeral. Commendations bestowed on him by the Uticans. Expression of Cæsar, on the news of his death. What may be thought of Cæsar's concern, in not having been able to save his life. Cæsar enters Utica. Pardons Cato's son, and imposes a heavy tax on the Romans settled in that city. Juba's flight. Zama, the Metropolis of his Kingdom, shuts its gates against him. His death. The Conqueror meets with no further opposition. Metellus Scipio falls on his own sword. Numidia reduced to a Roman Province. Sallust appointed Governor of it, where he rules with great tyranny. Cæsar's distribution of rewards and punishments. He puts to death

death Fauſtus Sylla and Afranius. His clemency to the reſt. He ſets out for Rome, having put an end to the African war, in little more than five months.

PRELIMINARIES of the AFRICAN WAR.

AFTER the battle of Pharſalia, Metellus Scipio retired, as I have before took notice, into Africa, where he might depend on the double aſſiſtance of Juba and Varus. Juba King of Mauritania, was the more firmly attached to Pompey's party, becauſe he looked upon himſelf as its chief ſupport; and the ſucceſs of his arms againſt Curio, as it had augmented his courage, ſo it had encreaſed his attachment to a cauſe he had ſo glorioufly defended. Varus, whom Curio's defeat had confirmed in the poſſeſſion of the Province of Africa, had under his command ſome Roman legions, who had given proof of their fidelity to Pompey. So that Metellus Scipio found the country, where he intended to renew the war, ſufficiently furniſhed with forces, but he had not a ſufficient military knowledge to make the proper uſe of them; having ſcarce any more merit, than what he claimed from an high extraction, an illuſtrious name, a perſonal courage more adapted to a private Soldier than to a Commander, and an implacable hatred to Cæſar. But he wanted military experience; the whole courſe of his life not affording one inſtance to dignify him as a warrior. And as for the qualifications of a great man, he was ſtill more deficient. He was neither obſervable for his concern for the public good, nor for his noble ſentiments, nor for his mildneſs, nor moderation. On the contrary, he was remarkable for the vice peculiar to narrow ſouls, I mean an obſtinacy, which rendered him incapable of receiving good advice: which he might eaſily have had at leaſt from Cato, who came and joined him with upwards of ten thouſand men. But we ſhall find he knew not the value of ſuch an ally.

Dio, l. xliii. Appian. Civ. l. II. Plut. Cat.

We left Cato in the city of Cyrene, towards which he had bent his courſe, as ſoon as he heard of Pompey's death. As he thought his accepting the command of the fleet, and of thoſe on board it, indiſpenſible; he could not do better than a junction of his and Scipio's forces. But as the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and as there would be great hazard for the ſhips in paſſing the Syrtes, (which are ſome very dangerous flats, ſo called) he determined to undertake the journey by land, notwithſtanding he foreſaw it muſt be attended with incredible fatigue. For he had a dry ſandy country to croſs, uninhabited and over-run with ſerpents of all kinds. Cato therefore made ample proviſion of water, which he loaded on aſſes. He provided himſelf alſo with variety of carriages for tranſporting the baggage, and for the convenience of ſuch as ſhould be incapable of marching, through ſickneſs or fatigue. And laſtly, to remedy the fatal effects from the bites of the ſerpents, he took with him ſome of the Pſylli, a people of Africa, to whom antiquity has attributed the extraordinary virtue of rendering themſelves invulnerable to ſerpents, and of curing ſuch as have been bit by them. This power ſeems reducible to the art of extracting poiſon by ſuction.

Theſe precautions were ſufficient to animate, to a certain degree, thoſe, who were to accompany Cato, in this fatiguing march: but the courage of their commanders was their chief ſupport. He marched at their head, his * pike in his hand, ſetting an example to the reſt chearfully to ſupport the fatigue: and this his deportment was infinitely more prevalent than any exhortations, or orders. He never made

* See the Diſſertation of M. l'Abbé Souchai upon the Pſylli, tome VII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

> Ipſe manu ſuâ pila gerens, præcedit anheli
> Militis ora pedes: monſtrat tolerare labores,
> Non jubet, & nullâ vehitur cervice ſupinus,
> Carpentove ſedens: ſomni parciſſimus ipſe eſt,
> Ultimus hauſtor aquæ. LUC. v. 587.

uſe

uſe of any carriage, not even of a horſe. He ſlept the leaſt of any in his army, and was the laſt to quench his thirſt, if by accident they met with any ſpring on their march. This march took him up thirty days, at the expiration of which he came to Leptis *, where he paſſed the remainder of the winter. The party aſſembling in Africa, and which Cæſar's long ſtay in Alexandria allowed time to grow formidable, ſtood in great need of the wiſdom and authority of Cato. Scipio and Varus were not on very good terms, by reaſon the latter, being fond of command, would not give it up to the other, on a frivolous pretence that he had been, for a conſiderable time, commander in the province: and King Juba's pride and barbarian pomp was inſupportable to them both. Cato's preſence, in ſome meaſure, put a ſtop to theſe diſorders. He ſoon taught Juba to pay a proper deference to the reputation and pre-eminence of the Roman name: for when at their firſt interview, the Numidian Prince had taken the place of honour between Scipio and Cato, this haughty Roman removed his ſeat, in order to place Scipio in the middle between the King and him. This leſſon, however, was not ſufficient, either to humble Juba, or to inſpire Scipio with ſentiments equal to his rank: and we ſhall have an opportunity of relating ſome inſtances, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, which prove that the Numidian had not forgot his pride, nor Scipio his baſe obſequious flattery.

As for the diſpute betwixt Scipio and Varus, Cato entirely put an end to it, by himſelf ſubmitting to the orders of the former. He had a tender made for him, by the conſent of Scipio and Varus, of the chief command, and which he had inconteſtably the better right to, from his perſonal qualifications. But the law determined it againſt him. Scipio had been Conſul, whereas Cato had never been more than Prætor.

* There were two cities of this name, diſtinguiſhed by the epithets of Greater and Leſſer Leptis. I imagine this to be the Leſſer Leptis, which lies more weſterly, and is ſituated towards the north of the Leſſer Syrtes.

So that he declined the offer; proteſting, that as he was engaged in the defence of the laws, he would not begin, by violating them. He even refuſed to divide the authority: ſaying, that it was more for the advantage of the cauſe to have but one Chief. This great auſterity is certainly very commendable: but Cato repented it, when he was convinced by experience that Scipio was not equal to his poſt.

After this ſubmiſſion of Cato, it would have appeared very ill in any other, not to acknowledge Scipio, as General. Not only Varus ſubmitted to it, but Afranius, who had been Conſul: and conſequently Petreïus and Labienus, who, though of long experience in war, yet were not of ſufficient rank to expect the command.

The firſt ſtep of the Chiefs, after this union, was to ſecure the allegiance of the country they were then in: and as the inhabitants of Utica were, with reaſon, ſuſpected to entertain a ſecret inclination for Cæſar's party, Juba, a Prince of a violent and cruel temper, was for deſtroying the city and exterminating its inhabitants. Utica, which was conſiderable, even when Carthage ſubſiſted, became more ſo by the ruin of that capital of Africa. It was the reſidence of the Pro-conſul, and full of Roman citizens, particularly of Knights, who had ſettled there, on account of its commerce. Cato therefore would not conſent to the deſtruction of ſo important a place, or to the death of ſo many men, eſpecially as moſt of them were Romans: and though Scipio was of Juba's opinion, Cato ſpoke ſo forcibly in the council, and inveighed with ſo much vehemence and indignation againſt ſo unparalleled a piece of cruelty, that he put a ſtop to the execution of this inhuman project.

However, it was neceſſary to take ſome precautions to prevent Cæſar's being received in Utica. At the requeſt of the inhabitants themſelves, and agreeable to Scipio's deſire, Cato undertook to defend the city; whoſe extent, riches, and numerous inhabitants, as well as its fortifications, rendered it very conſiderable;

and

and which ſtill became more ſo, in the hands of ſo active and vigilant a Governor. He formed great magazines of corn in the city, repaired its walls, erected turrets, and formed a ſort of camp without the city, encloſed with a ditch and paliſade, wherein, after having taken away their arms, he lodged all the youth of Utica. As for the reſt of its inhabitants, he kept them within the walls, ſtrictly watching their motions, though, at the ſame time, protecting them from any inſults from his ſoldiers. So that Cato not only did an act of generoſity and juſtice, in reſcuing Utica: he even rendered it greatly advantageous to the very perſons, who, through a headlong fury, would have deſtroyed it. From thence, he furniſhed Scipio with arms, money and proviſions, and this place became the grand magazine for the ſupplies of the army.

It is eaſy to be conceived, that Pompey's party being ſo well eſtabliſhed in Africa, that province became the place of rendezvous for ſuch, who, after the battle of Pharſalia, ſtill retained any hopes, or reſolution, to retrieve their loſs. The conquered ſoon were conſiderable enough, both by land and ſea, to become formidable to their conquerors. Their forces conſiſted of a numerous cavalry, four legions belonging to King Juba, a great number of light-armed troops, ten legions collected or raiſed by Scipio, ſix-ſcore elephants, and ſeveral fleets, diſperſed along the coaſt. Scipio, for the raiſing ſo numerous an army, had drained the province, and preſſed the very labourers into the ſervice, inſomuch that the ſummer before Cæſar's arrival in Africa, there was no harveſt, for want of hands. Nevertheleſs, as the country is extremely fertile, the former harveſts ſufficed abundantly to ſtock Scipio's magazines. Being himſelf therefore in plenty, his next ſtep was to diſtreſs the enemy on his arrival: accordingly he laid the whole country waſte; and making choice of a few ſtrong places, where he lodged good garriſons, he deſtroyed all the reſt, and compelled their inhabitants to go into thoſe

Hiſt. de B. Afric. 1. & 20.

thoſe which he had fortified. His fleet alſo was of great uſe to him: from whence he detached ſquadrons to cruiſe on the enemy, and to make deſcents in Sicily and Sardinia; ſeizing all the arms and all the iron they could lay their hands on, and with which the African army was but ill ſupplied. And now they began to be apprehenſive in Italy, as appears by ſeveral of Cicero's letters to Atticus, leſt ſo powerful an enemy ſhould make a deſcent there, whilſt Cæſar was employed in Egypt and Aſia. At the ſame time ſome commotions happened in Spain, of which young Pompey, by the advice of Cato, prepared to take advantage. So that the danger ſtill increaſing, Cæſar, after having remedied, in Rome and Italy, what required his more immediate attention, found he had not a moment to loſe, to go and appeaſe a ſtorm no leſs violent than that which he had quelled at Pharſalia.

L. XI. ad Att.

He went there, with an activity not to be conceived: and he carried it ſo far, that if I may be allowed to ſpeak my thoughts, ſuch diſpatch ought to ſerve as a precedent to none but thoſe who are equal to him in parts, and would become raſhneſs in any one, who has not an adequate fund in himſelf to rely on.

He left Rome about the end of the year in which Calenus and Vatinius were Conſuls. He paſſed the ſtreights at Rhegium, and from Meſſina, he marched directly to Lilybæum, where he arrived the * 17th of December. But it muſt be obſerved, that the Roman Calendar was then in great confuſion; ſo that the day they reckoned the 17th of December, was in reality the 30th of September. He was no ſooner come to Lilybæum, than he ſhewed his inclination to embark, though he had but one legion with him, and that new raiſed, and ſcarce ſix hundred horſe: and that every body might be convinced, that he would

Hiſt. de B. Afric. 2.

* I tranſlate in this manner XIV. Kal. Jan. becauſe in Numa's Calendar, which the Romans then followed, December had but 29 days.

fer no delay, he pitched a tent for himſelf, without city, and ſo near the ſea, that it was almoſt waſhed its waves.

For ſeveral days he was prevented weighing anchor, the badneſs of the weather: and by this delay, me land forces and ſome ſhips of war and tranſports d an opportunity of joining him: ſo that in a ſhort e, he had with him ſix legions, one of them of ve- ans, two thouſand horſe, and a great number of ps of both kinds. Notwithſtanding the impoſſi- ity of ſailing, yet he embarked his ſoldiers and wers; the foot, on board the men of war, and the valry, on board the tranſports: and the very inſtant bad weather ceaſed (on the 25th of December) he t to ſea, without even appointing a place of ren- zvous; becauſe the enemy being in poſſeſſion of whole African coaſt, he did not know exactly here he ſhould land. His fleet happened to be ſepa- rd, and every one ſteered what courſe he judged oſt convenient. He himſelf, with few attendants, wind proving favourable, deſcryed land the fourth y, and having coaſted Clupea, Neapolis, and ſome her maritime places, he diſembarked near Adrume- m, with three thouſand foot and one hundred and ty horſe. This handful of men was, at firſt, his hole defence, in a country poſſeſſed by an innumera- multitude of his enemies.

It is reported that in getting out of his ſhip, he fell own. As he knew how much the vulgar were diſ- ſed to ſuperſtition, and that his ſoldiers might not ink this fall of his of ill omen, he had the preſence mind inſtantly to obviate ſuch an effect, by extend- g his arms, as if he meant to embrace the earth, and ying out with a loud voice, "Africa, I have hold thee." Suet. Cæſ. n. 54.

He had made uſe of a like precaution to prevent an mpreſſion, which the name of the commander of the ontrary party made on ſeveral. Every body was ac- uainted with, and admired the glorious atchieve- ents of the two Scipios, in Africa. Conſequently it

it was imagined, that, by a certain fatality, victo
muſt neceſſarily follow their ſteps, in that count
and attend on their name: and that there was no po
ſibility of a Scipio's being defeated, in a country
fortunate to his family. Cæſar, who knew that it
often of dangerous conſequence to run counter to p
pular prejudices, and that the beſt method of obvi
ing them, is to ſeem to conform to them, brou
with him a man of indifferent parts, and irregular m
rals, who was of the family, and bore the name
Scipio.

Hirt. n. 3. The enemy had a garriſon in Adrumetum. Cæ
made an attempt to gain the Governor; but not bei
able to ſucceed, he reſolved to remove further fro
the town. The garriſon made a ſally to harraſs h
retreat; but were repulſed, notwithſtanding the i
quality of his forces: and, which is almoſt incredibl
thirty Gauliſh horſemen ſeveral times broke, and p
to flight, two thouſand of the Mooriſh cavalry.
the firſt of January, he encamped near Ruſpina; a
there he commenced his third Dictatorſhip and h
third Conſulſhip.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

The city of Ruſpina, with its adjacent villages, h
ſubmitted to Cæſar; as likewiſe did Leptis, a pla
of importance on the ſame coaſt; ſo that this enterp
ſing General had already more than one port at h
diſpoſal. He was particularly civil to all who join
his party, that others might be tempted to follow th
example.

The three principal points, which firſt employ
his attention, were, to collect a ſufficient quantity
corn and proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his troop
to re-aſſemble his ſcattered fleet; and to be ſupplie
from Sardinia and Sicily, with all ſorts of ammu
tion, and with freſh re-inforcements. Whatever h
was able to do himſelf, he truſted to the execution

o one elſe: but headed his own foraging parties, A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.
nd even put to ſea in queſt of his ſhips. By de-
rees, all the forces he had ſet out with from Sicily,
ined him, and they made ſhift to live in his camp,
ough with ſome difficulty. But in the midſt of all Hirt. n. 10.
eſe difficulties, he preſerved a ſerenity of counte-
ance, and a confidence of ſucceſs, which inſpired his
ldiers with the like ſentiments. The ſight of their
eneral, in whom they abſolutely confided, diſpelled
l apprehenſions of danger, or fatigue.

However, this army was far from being numerous,
d almoſt entirely compoſed of new raiſed troops.
o that Cæſar ſtood in need of an augmentation of
rces, as well as of a ſupply of ammunition. For
hich purpoſe he ſent orders into Sardinia, and into
l the adjacent provinces, to diſpatch ample convoys
r his army, immediately on the receipt of his let-
rs. He ſent Rabinius Poſtumus into Sicily, for a
inforcement of troops, and diſpatched Salluſt into
e iſle of Cercina, to ſeize and bring away the maga-
nes of corn, raiſed there by the enemy. And he ex-
ected his orders to be executed without any demur;
or would he admit of any excuſe. It was to no pur-
oſe, to repreſent the danger, or difficulties: he would
e obeyed.

Before he could poſſibly receive theſe ſupplies, he
ppened to be attacked by a detachment of the
emy, whoſe numbers were infinitely ſuperior to his.
or on the fourth of January, being with a foraging
rty, conſiſting of thirty cohorts, (making about
teen thouſand foot) four hundred horſe, not yet re-
vered from the fatigue of the ſea-paſſage, and ſome
w archers, he received intelligence by his ſcouts,
at the enemy was coming upon him. This hap-
ned to be Labienus, at the head of a conſiderable
dy of cavalry and infantry. His cavalry conſiſted
ſixteen hundred Gauliſh and German horſe, which
e had brought with him from Theſſaly, beſides eight
ouſand Numidian horſe, which were joined, during
e engagement, by eleven hundred choſen horſemen
more,

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. more, brought up by Petreius. The infantry, well heavy as light-armed, was four times as numerous, and ſuſtained by ſlingers and archers, on foot and on horſe-back. Labienus made no doubt of victory: and had declared that his intention was to tire Cæſar's ſoldiers, by his numbers: ſo that, though at firſt they might have ſome advantage of the troops he ſhould attack them with, yet in the end having no longer the power of killing, through fatigue, they muſt neceſſarily be defeated.

In effect, Cæſar had need of all his ſkill and courage to reſiſt ſo great a ſuperiority. He himſelf behaved with great gallantry: and ſeeing a ſoldier run away who carried the eagle of one of his legions, laid hold of him, and turning him round, ſaid, "You miſtake: you muſt go that way to meet the "enemy." However, he could not prevent his people being ſurrounded, ſo that they were for ſome time obliged to fight in the hollow circle: but at laſt, by attacking them in a column, he found means to open his way through, and break his aſſailants, notwithſtanding their numbers. The light troops, of which Labienus's army was almoſt entirely compoſed, could not ſuſtain the weight of the attack of the legionary ſoldiers, when once they came hand to hand. And Cæſar knew ſo well how to improve this advantage, that after ſeveral alternative attacks and retreats, he repulſed the enemy beyond a hill, of which he took poſſeſſion; and having there halted for ſome time, marched back unmoleſted, to his camp.

In this action, which laſted near ſeven hours, Petreius was wounded: and Labienus was in very great danger, through an adventure, which deſerves to be related. He appeared between the two armies, on horſe-back, without his helmet, encouraging his own people, and at times reproaching and inſulting Cæſar's ſoldiers. "It ill becomes you," ſaid he to them, "who are but new raiſed militia, to affect ſo much "haughtineſs. Has Cæſar ſo ſoon bewitched you? "He has betrayed you into ſo great danger, that

"real

really pity you." Whereupon one of the ſoldiers whom he addreſſed himſelf, made him the following reply: "Labienus, I am no novice in the art of war. I am a veteran ſoldier of the tenth legion." "You have a mind to impoſe upon me," replied Labienus; "I do not ſee any where the colours of the legion you ſpeak of." "Well then," anſwered the ſoldier, "I am going to make myſelf known to you." At the ſame time lifting up his bever, that his face might be ſeen, he flung his javelin with all his might at Labienus. It miſſed him, but wounded his horſe. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 46.

In the account of this engagement, I have followed the ancient author of the memoirs of the African war. The Greek hiſtorians are not ſo favourable to Cæſar, and ſay plainly, that he had the worſt of it. However, it is evident from the facts, that, although he did ſuſtain ſome loſs, he was neither beaten nor broke, and that he ſaved the chief part of his troops: which was all he could propoſe under ſuch circumſtances. Plut. Appian. Dio.

This was ſufficient for Labienus to boaſt a victory: and a few days after, Scipio having joined him with eight legions and four thouſand horſe, this General, who was not leſs vain-glorious than his Lieutenant, thought it neceſſary to beſtow extraordinary commendations on his pretended victorious troops, and to diſtribute military rewards among ſuch as had ſignalized their bravery. Among others, Labienus preſented one of the cavalry, for whom he requeſted ſome golden bracelets. Scipio, who knew that this ſoldier had lately come out of ſlavery, refuſed to beſtow them on him, thinking that the meanneſs of the object would depreciate the reward. However, that he might not be diſcouraged, Labienus gave him ſome money, of which he had plenty; having raiſed a great deal in Gaul, while he ſerved there under Cæſar. But Scipio, ſtill purſuing the ſame idea, ſaid to the ſoldier, "You receive there the preſent of a rich man." This brave fellow, who had ſo very lately regained his Val. Max. VIII. 14.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. his liberty, that he almoſt ſtill retained the marks ſlavery, was very ſenſible of the difference betwixt t reward which had been denied him, and that whi he had juſt received. Wherefore he returned Labi nus his money, and remained motionleſs, his ey fixed on the ground, expreſſing his ſorrow and diſſ tisfaction. Such a nobleneſs of ſoul made an amen for the meanneſs of his late condition: and ſuch w Scipio's opinion; who thereupon ſaid to him, "Yo "General preſents you with ſilver bracelets." A theſe words, the ſoldier tranſported with joy ran, triumph, to receive the General's gratuity. Had Scipio's ſoldiers had the like elevated notions, Cæ had found more difficulty to conquer them.

Hirt. n. 20. His ſituation was certainly very diſagreeable; b ing pent up by an enemy much ſuperior to himſe But as he was in daily expectation of a reinforceme of his veteran troops, till their arrival, he made t beſt uſe he could of what troops he had on the ſpo and as an augmentation to his army, he draught out of the fleet all the men, that were not abſolute neceſſary in working the ſhips, and that could be a ways ſerviceable to him on land. His next care w immediately to intrench himſelf. He alſo drew lin of communication from the city of Ruſpina, a from his camp to the ſea, in order to ſecure his r treat, if neceſſary; and for the more eaſy receivi the ſupplies he expected.

But the want of victuals and forage was his grea eſt trouble. He was maſter but of ſix miles roun in all Africa: and that had been purpoſely plundere as I have already mentioned. So that he had b very little corn, of which he was extremely ſparing and as for the horſes, they were fed with ſea-wee ſteeped in freſh water.

Theſe were very advantageous circumſtances fo Cæſar's enemies: and Juba, who had received an ac count of his ſituation, left his Kingdom, attended b a numerous body of horſe and foot, in order th when on his arrival the whole force of the par

ſhould

ſhould be united, they might cruſh ſo weak and diſ- A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.
treſſed an adverſary. Cæſar's good fortune, or rather the effect of his intrigues, drew off that Prince, when he was upon the point of joining Scipio.

In the account of Catiline's conſpiracy I mentioned Dio. Appian.
one Sittius, who, having been obliged for ſome certain ill-behaviour to leave Italy, had retired into Africa. This man, who wanted for neither courage nor conduct, had formed a little army of men levied in Italy and Spain: and in the wars between the petty princes of Africa, he let himſelf out to thoſe who would pay him the beſt. And it being remarked, that the ſide he took always proved victorious, every one was deſirous to have him for an ally: ſo that his affairs were in a very good poſture, having troops very well diſciplined at his diſpoſal, and a conſiderable reputation in the country. Sittius's former attachment to Catiline, doubtleſs eaſily determined him to comply with Cæſar's ſollicitations, who had alſo been Catiline's friend. So that Juba had no ſooner quitted his Kingdom, than Sittius, in conjunction with Bogud, King of part of Mauritania, entered it, took Cirta the capital of Numidia, and two cities belonging to the Getulians. And as he continued plundering the country, and alarming the cities, Juba began to be apprehenſive that he might be ſtripped of his own territories, whilſt he was ſupporting a foreign quarrel. Whereupon he returned, leaving Scipio only thirty elephants, which were not yet manageable for ſervice.

It is eaſy to judge, how dangerous Juba's arrival would have been to Cæſar, ſince that, notwithſtanding that Prince's retreat, he did not think himſelf of force ſufficient to contend with Scipio. He kept cloſe in his camp, which he had ſtrongly fortified, and in the front of which he had diſperſed caltrops and chevaux de friſe, to prevent the approach of the enemy's horſe. It was to no purpoſe for Scipio to offer him battle; Cæſar conſtantly declined it: and his General, who had appeared ſo ardent on all other

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. occaſions, and with whom it had been cuſtomary to provoke, harraſs, and force his adverſaries to an engagement, was as remarkable at this time for his cool temper, and for enduring quietly in his camp the inſults and bravados of the officers and ſoldiers of the contrary party.

However, this ſituation was extremely irkſome to him; and in order to extricate himſelf, he ſent freſh orders into Sicily, to bring him troops without any delay, and without any regard to the rigour of the ſeaſon, or whether the wind was favourable or not. And ſo great was his impatience, that the very next day after his orders were diſpatched, he complained of a delay in their execution, and was conſtantly looking towards the ſea, in expectation of the arrival of the tranſports.

During this compelled leiſure, Cæſar was not idle. Beſides keeping his ſoldiers conſtantly employed in removing earth, and in the conſtruction of works of all kinds, ſuch as towers, forts, and moles advanced into the ſea; he ſent circular letters into the whole province of Africa, to notify his arrival. For by reaſon of the few troops he had brought with him, and on account of his inaction, it was not believed in the country that he was come in perſon, but only that he had ſent one of his Lieutenants. This precaution was of uſe to him. For as Scipio had extremely harraſſed and diſtreſſed the province, great numbers of the principal inhabitants came from all parts to Cæſar's camp, to complain of their treatment. The affability with which he gave the audience, made a very favourable impreſſion on the complainants, who were convinced he was not inſenſible of their misfortunes. And this mild uſage induced Acilla, a city of importance, to open her gates to him, and admit a garriſon.

He had alſo proper agents in the enemy's camp, who enticed away ſeveral of their legionary ſoldiers, but particularly of the Getulians and Numidians, who deſerted in crowds, and came and offered their ſervices

o Cæſar. The name of Marius was in great reputa- A. R. 706.
ion among theſe people; and as care had been taken Ant. C.
o let them know that Cæſar was an ally of that cele- 46.
rated man, theſe Barbarians had conceived an incli-
ation for him, and deſired nothing more than to
erve him. So that he diſpatched into Getulia ſome
f theſe runagates, who were conſiderable in their
wn nation, to perſuade their countrymen to revolt.
he thing ſucceeded, and produced a diverſion, which
ept ſome part of Juba's forces in employ.

And now at length he received, what he had ſo
ng wiſhed for, a ſupply of troops and proviſions.
lluſt without any difficulty made himſelf maſter of
e iſle of Circina, where he found plenty of corn,
hich he ſent to camp; and from Sicily, Allienus
nt two legions, nine hundred Gauliſh horſe, and a
ouſand ſlingers or archers, who after a paſſage of
ur days came ſafe into the port of Ruſpina. This
uble reinforcement diffuſed a joy through the whole
my; and Cæſar now thought himſelf in a condi-
n to come out of his camp, and draw nearer the
emy. This motion produced an engagement be-
een the cavalry of the two parties, wherein Scipio
ained a conſiderable loſs. The Gauliſh horſe, in
e ſervice of Labienus, were ſurrounded and en-
ely cut to pieces: by which means Cæſar's adver-
ies were deprived of the flower of their cavalry.

Scipio might now have been convinced of the rea- Plut. Cat.
ableneſs of Cato's counſel, who, as often as he ſent
n ſupplies from Utica, as conſtantly adviſed him
to engage in a general action with a warrior of Cæ-
s abilities, but to protract the war. But ignorance
reſumptuous, and will not abide inſtruction. Sci-
rejected Cato's advice with diſdain: and in a let-
he wrote to him, he taxed him with cowardice,
told him, that he ought to be ſatisfied with be-
ſafe in a good city and behind ſtrong walls, and
it it was going too far, to endeavour to diſſuade
ers from following the dictates of their courage.
o was nettled at this reproach, and as an inſtance

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. that fear had no part in the advice he gave, he an-
ſwered Scipio, that if he would return him the troops
he had brought into Africa, he was ready to go a
the head of them into Italy, and make a diverſio
there, which would be very advantageous to the com
mon cauſe, and muſt oblige Cæſar to quit his preſen
acquiſitions and return thither. Scipio made a jeſt o
this propoſal; and it was then that Cato repente
having relinquiſhed the command to a man, who no
only was not of a diſpoſition to promiſe any ſucce
in the war; but who, even ſuppoſing, contrary to a
probability, he ſhould meet with a favourable tur
of fortune he by no means merited, would be inca
pable of any moderation in victory, and would tre
the vanquiſhed with cruelty and contempt. Fro
that inſtant he determined, what he had before thoug
on, never to ſee Rome more; not even though th
event of the war ſhould be conformable to his wiſhe
but reſolved to go and confine himſelf to ſome di
tant corner of the earth, where he ſhould not be w
neſs of the tyranny, with which the conquered wou
be treated.

His miſtruſt of the uſe Scipio would make of v
tory was not ill founded, if we may judge by ſo
inſtances in this General's conduct, at a time wh
the uncertainty of ſucceſs ought to have made h
more moderate. I ſhall only mention one.

Hirt. n. 44. Two veſſels belonging to the fleet, which brou
the laſt reinforcement to Cæſar, being ſeparated fr
their convoy in a ſtorm, were taken by Scipio's Li
tenants who guarded the coaſts, and all the ſoldi
on board were made priſoners. Theſe ſoldiers w
partly veterans, partly new raiſed; among the
there happened to be a Centurion. Scipio had th
before him, and ſpoke to them in theſe terms: "
"know that 'tis not by your own inclination, but
"the inſtigation of your wicked General, that y
"impiouſly wage war on your fellow-citizens, and
"the honeſteſt part of the Republic. If therefo
"now that fortune has put you in our power,
"

" will take this opportunity to unite with the good A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.
" citizens, in the defence of the commonweal; I not
" only promiſe you your life, but you may expect to
" be rewarded. Let me know what you think of
" the propoſal."

The Centurion, who on this occaſion was ſpokeſman, made him a very different anſwer from what he expected. " Scipio, ſays he, (for I cannot give you " the appellation of General) I return you my hearty " thanks for the good treatment you are willing to " ſhow to priſoners of war; and perhaps, I might " accept of your kindneſs, were it not to be purchaſed at the expence of an horrible crime. What! " Shall I carry arms and fight againſt Cæſar my General, under whom I have ſerved as Centurion; " and againſt his victorious army, to whoſe renown " I have ſo many years endeavoured to contribute by " my valour? 'Tis what I will never do: and even " adviſe you not to puſh the war any further. You " know not what troops you have to deal with, nor " the difference betwixt them and yours; of which, " if you pleaſe, I will give you an indiſputable inſtance. Do you pick out the beſt cohort you have " in your army; and give me only ten of my comrades, who are now your priſoners, to engage them. " You ſhall ſee, by the ſucceſs, what you are to expect from your ſoldiers."

Scipio thought himſelf inſulted; and with ſome ſon. However, the Centurion's courage and fide- to his General merited eſteem, even from an emy. But it had no ſuch effect on Scipio; who, enting the affront, made a ſign to ſome of the of- rs to kill the Centurion on the ſpot, which was antly put in execution. He gave the like orders the death of the other veteran ſoldiers, whom he d villains pampered with the blood of their fellow- zens. As for the new raiſed ſoldiers, they were ributed among his legions.

Cæſar was very much concerned for the misfortune theſe brave fellows; and he broke, with ignominy,

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. the perſons to whom he might reaſonably impute the cauſe of their loſs; that is, thoſe officers, whoſe inſtructions being to ſecure the coaſts, and to advance to a certain diſtance into the main ſea, to protect and facilitate the approach of the tranſports, had been negligent on that important ſtation.

About this time, Cæſar's army was ſurprized, in the night, by a terrible ſtorm, attended with hail of an uncommon ſize. But what contributed moſt to this misfortune was, that the ſoldiers had not any conveniences to protect them from the inclemency of the weather; by reaſon, Cæſar (as may eaſily be ſeen by what has been hitherto related of him) did not put his troops into winter-quarters; but was continually changing his camp, to gain ground on the enemy, and to keep his army employed. Beſides, neither officer nor ſoldier had been permitted to take their equipage or utenſils with them, not ſo much as a veſſel or ſingle ſlave. So that very few of them had tents and the generality had made themſelves a kind of covering, either by ſpreading their cloaths, or with mats and ruſhes. Such a covering could be but a ſlight protection againſt a violent ſtorm; and as it was preſently penetrated, the ſoldiers had no other reſource than to cover their heads with their buckler to ſhelter them from the weather. In a ſhort time the whole camp was under water, the fires extinguiſhed, and all their proviſions waſhed away or ſpoiled. But this was only a tranſient accident. Juba's approach gave far greater alarms to Cæſar's troops. This Prince, having received advice of the horſe-engagement wherein Scipio had been worſted; and the General, in his letters, earneſtly ſolliciting his aſſiſtance; he determined once more to come to the defence of his allies; whereupon he immediately began his march, leaving Saburn at home to carry on the war with Sittius. There were moſt ſurpriſing accounts publiſhed of the King of Mauritania's forces. Cæſar thought of a very ſingular expedient to remove the

ſoldiers fears; which was to exceed even common report, in the account of his numbers. A.R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

Accordingly he aſſembled his ſoldiers, and ſaid to them: "I muſt inform you, that Juba is hourly expected, with ten legions, thirty thouſand horſe, one hundred thouſand light-armed troops, and three hundred elephants. So that I would have thoſe who are fond of news, make no further unneceſſary inquiries, nor build caſtles in the air, but rely on what I tell them, from undoubted authority: otherwiſe I will put them on board ſome of my oldeſt ſhips, and deliver them up to the mercy of the winds." This exaggeration produced a very extraordinary effect. For when Juba came and had encamped his troops near Scipio, they appeared not near ſo numerous as had been imagined. And in reality, excepting the Numidian cavalry and light-armed infantry, which were conſiderable, his whole force conſiſted in only three legions, eight hundred horſe, and thirty elephants. So that Cæſar's ſoldiers, having got over the terrible idea they had formed to themſelves of this army, their apprehenſions were ſoon turned into contempt, and they as much deſpiſed the King of Mauritania, now he was preſent, as they had feared him, when at a diſtance. If Juba, on his arrival, ſuffered in the eſteem of Cæſar's troops, yet he ſtill kept the aſcendant over Scipio. He began by taking amiſs, that the Roman General wore a purple coat of mail, and had the inſolence to tell him, that he ought not to wear the ſame kind of cloathing as he did. Scipio was weak enough to comply with this remonſtrance. He changed it for a white one, reſigning to this Barbarian Prince the diſtinguiſhing mark of Commander in chief. Juba was actually more feared, and better obeyed, in Scipio's army, than Scipio himſelf. A Senator of that party, named Aquinius, being in converſation, in the ſight of the two armies, with Saſerna, one of Cæſar's officers, Scipio, who had ſuffered conſiderably by deſertion, not knowing where this converſation might end, ſent him

Suet. Cæſ. n. 66.

Hirt. n. 57.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. him word, that he did not do well to correſpond with the enemy. Aquinius paid no attention to this reprimand, but purſued his diſcourſe, till one of Juba's guards came to him and told him, "The King "forbids you to continue this converſation." He no ſooner received this order, than he retired. In this manner, did the Romans degrade themſelves, and through party-rage, debaſe the common honour of the whole nation.

Scipio and Juba had united all their forces before Cæſar had entirely aſſembled his. However, it was not long before he received from Sicily, by different voyages, the forces he expected, and among others the tenth legion, who, as we have already taken notice, came unordered to tender their ſervices to their General; which he had affected to decline. The two contending armies being now compleat, prepared for action, and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between them. But before I relate the military operations, I muſt take notice of an example of ſeverity, made by Cæſar in his camp, for paſt faults, which he had not an opportunity of puniſhing, as ſoon as committed.

During his ſtay in Alexandria, and whilſt he was engaged in the war againſt Pharnaces, there happened ſeveral commotions in his legions quartered in Italy and Sicily, which at laſt produced that violent ſedition, which I have already related. Cæſar, who perceived his troops knew how neceſſary they were, thought it impolitic, at that time, to puſh his ſeverity too far. But he knew well enough who were the promoters of theſe diſorders, and at the time I am now ſpeaking of, took the opportunity, which one of them gave him, to diſgrace them.

Hirt. n. 54. C. Avienus, a military Tribune of the tenth legion, when he ſet out from Sicily, had filled a ſhip entirely with his own equipage and attendants, without taking on board one ſingle ſoldier. Nothing could be more contrary to Cæſar's intentions, or to the example which he himſelf ſet. One may gueſs at his real equipage in Africa, by that which he formerly brought with

Athon. VI. 20.

with him into Great Britain, and which conſiſted, according to the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs, of no more than three ſlaves. Cæſar therefore, the day after the arrival of the convoy we are now ſpeaking of, aſſembled the Tribunes and Centurions of all the legions, and having aſcended his Tribunal, addreſſed them in theſe terms: "I could have wiſhed that thoſe, whoſe "inſolence and former licentious character have given "me cauſe of complaint, had been capable of amend-"ment, and of making a good uſe of my mildneſs, "patience, and moderation. But ſince they know "not how to confine themſelves within bounds, I in-"tend to make an example of them, according to the "law of arms, in order that others may be taught a "better conduct. You, C. Avienus, when you was "in Italy, inſtigated the ſoldiers of the Roman peo-"ple to revolt againſt the Republic; You have been "guilty of rapines and plunders in the municipal "towns; and you have never been of any real ſervice, "either to the commonwealth, or to your General: "laſtly, in lieu of ſoldiers, you have crowded the "tranſports with your ſlaves and equipage; ſo that, "through your fault, the Republic fails in ſoldiers, "who at this time are not only uſeful but neceſſary. "For all theſe cauſes, I break you with ignominy, "and order you to leave Africa this very day. In "like manner I break you, A. Fonteïus, becauſe you "have behaved yourſelf as a ſeditious officer, and as "a bad citizen. You, T. Salienus, M. Tiro, C. "Cluſinas, you have attained the rank of Centurions, "through my indulgence, and not through your own "merit; and ſince you have been inveſted with that "rank, you have neither ſhewn bravery in war, nor "good conduct in peace. Inſtead of endeavouring "to act according to the rules of modeſty and de-"cency, your whole ſtudy has been to ſtir up the "ſoldiers againſt your General. I therefore think "you unworthy of continuing Centurions in my "army: I break you, and order you to quit Africa "as ſoon as poſſible." Having concluded this ter-

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

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A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. rible harangue, he delivered them over to ſome Centurions, with orders to confine them ſeparately on board a ſhip, allowing each of them a ſingle ſlave to wait on them. This was certainly carrying things with a high hand, in a man, who, properly ſpeaking, was no more than the chief of a faction. Beſides, civil wars are almoſt always the deſtruction of diſcipline: but Cæſar found in himſelf and in the ſuperiority of his talents, the right of making himſelf obeyed.

I have mentioned, that there happened frequent ſkirmiſhes between Cæſar and his adverſaries, before they came to a general action. The particulars of all theſe operations, of leſs importance, are to be ſeen in the Memoirs of the African war. I ſhall only extract ſuch as appear to be of moſt conſequence, and eſpecially ſuch as are moſt proper to give us a livelier idea of, and encreaſe our admiration for, Cæſar's genius, and great abilities. For example, I give you the following inſtance of his activity, and diſpatch.

Hirt. n. 62. On information that a convoy of two legions had ſet out from Sicily, he detached two ſquadrons, to facilitate and protect its arrival; one towards Thapſus, the other towards Adrumetum. This latter happened to be ſeparated by a ſtorm. The Commodore, by name Aquila, got under convenient ſhelter: and a great many ſhips of his ſquadron anchored before Leptis, whilſt their crews went on ſhore to refreſh themſelves, not knowing that the enemy was ſo near them. For Varus, having notice of the convoy's ſailing, had come from Utica to Adrumetum, with a fleet of fifty-five ſhips; and being there told what was doing at Leptis, he took advantage of the negligence of Cæſar's people, and attacked their ſhips, which were left almoſt defenceleſs. Many of them he burnt, took two gallies of five banks of oars, and then proceeded to attack Aquila.

Cæſar had an account brought him of this unlucky accident, as he was inſpecting the works of his camp. Where

Whereupon he immediately took horſe, went full ſpeed to Leptis, which was but two leagues diſtant, and going on board a Brigantine, ordered all the ſhips in the port to follow him, and in this manner put to ſea. He came time enough to extricate Aquila from the danger he was in, who found great difficulty to defend himſelf againſt ſo numerous a fleet. Varus, hitherto victorious, began now to fear in his turn, and ſought his ſafety in his flight. Cæſar purſued him; and not content with having recovered one of his own gallies, and taken another from the enemy, he followed him into the very baſon of Adrumetum, whither they had retreated. He there offered them battle, which they declined; and having thus compelled them to own themſelves in a manner defeated, as they durſt not come out of the harbour, he returned to his camp. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

On board the ſhip he had taken, there happened to be P. Ligarius, the ſame, who had proſecuted the war againſt him in Spain, and who, inſtead of acknowledging the conqueror's generoſity, in granting him his liberty, had joined Pompey in Greece; and after the battle of Pharſalia, had gone into Africa to Varus, there to continue in the ſervice of the ſame cauſe. Cæſar gave immediate orders for his execution: and this is the firſt flagrant inſtance of the like rigour put in force by Cæſar, and inflicted on a man of quality of the contrary party. He certainly was greatly exaſperated againſt thoſe who had rekindled the war in Africa; and as he thought them incorrigible, he was of opinion, it was to no purpoſe to pardon them.

When Cæſar came back to camp, he wholly applied himſelf to the diſciplining of his troops, in order to enable them to withſtand Juba's cavalry, light-armed troops, and elephants. For when once they came to a cloſe engagement, his infantry had a ſurpriſing ſuperiority; inſomuch that three or four of his veterans have, more than once, put two thouſand of the enemy's horſe to flight. But this Numidian

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. dian cavalry, and the light-armed troops that accompanied it, after they were broke, eaſily rallied, and continually returned to the charge. And Cæſar's legionary horſe were ſo far inferior to them, that in an action wherein he was a good deal preſſed, he did not ſo much as ſuffer them to engage, but entirely made uſe of his infantry againſt the enemies light troops; who, as often as they repulſed them, kept retiring, till they were afreſh attacked; and in this manner he at laſt got back to camp, but with ſo much difficulty, and ſo ſlowly, that he was four hours going one hundred paces.

His troops, although excellent, were not at all adapted to this manner of fighting. In Gaul they had been accuſtomed to fight in an open country, and with an undeſigning enemy, who ſeldom made uſe of ſtratagems, and were more deſirous to conquer by force than by fraud. Here it was quite otherwiſe: they found themſelves in an incloſed country, and attacked by a cunning artful enemy, who frequently were upon them when they leaſt expected; and had no ſooner alarmed them, than they were gone off again.

So that Cæſar conſidered his ſoldiers, not as veterans, who had only need to be led to battle; but as novices, who were to be formed: and he himſelf inſtructed them, in the ſame manner as a fencing-maſter inſtructs his ſcholars, ſhewing them how to retire, how to advance, when to feint, and when to ſtrike home. After having exerciſed them ſome time in his camp, he had a mind to put them to a trial: and in order to get proviſions, he continually detached his legions, ſome one way, ſome another, knowing that as the enemy's cavalry and light armed troops were conſtantly on the patrole, they muſt neceſſarily fall in with his people, and give them an opportunity of putting in practice the inſtructions he had given them.

It will not be improper to mention another precaution of his, which was, whenever his whole army was

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on the march, as it was then neceſſary the ſoldiers ſhould carry their baggage as well as arms, he took care to detach three hundred choſen men from each legion, who were diſencumbered from all camp-equipage, and formed a kind of guard to the army. And he found the uſe of them on ſeveral occaſions, wherein they repulſed the enemy. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

He was alſo deſirous to familiariſe his ſoldiers to elephants, whoſe enormous ſize, together with their numbers, not a little ſcared his troops. For which purpoſe he ſent for ſome from Italy, that his ſoldiers might be accuſtomed to the ſight of them, and might have an opportunity of handling, and examining them. He ſhewed them where they were moſt vulnerable, and what part of the body of an armed elephant was defenceleſs and lay moſt expoſed. To theſe inſtructions he ſubjoined practice, and accuſtomed his cavalry to lance at the elephants, darts, whoſe points were blunted. Nay his care extended to the very horſes, which he ordered to be frequently led near the elephants, that they might be uſed to the ſight, ſmell, and cry of them. What General ever carried his attentions ſo far? Nothing eſcaped him, that could be of uſe, and he thought nothing, that could be uſeful, beneath his notice.

As ſoon as Cæſar thought his troops ſufficiently diſciplined, he endeavoured to come to a deciſive battle. At firſt Scipio would not have declined it: but it ſeems, the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which, maugre the ſuperior number of his cavalry and light troops, he had often been worſted, had rendered him more circumſpect. For now he conſtantly kept in a ſituation, where, by reaſon of its natural ſtrength, and by the help of the works he raiſed, it was impoſſible for him to be attacked. In order to draw him from this poſt, Cæſar determined to beſiege Thapſus; imagining they would never ſuffer a place of that importance to be taken from them, but would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to raiſe the ſiege. As he lay but ſixteen miles diſtant from Thapſus, on the 4th of

April

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. April he ſtruck his tents, and the ſame day came before the town, and began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for beſieging it. It happened as he ſuſpected; Scipio and Juba followed him, and came and encamped, in ſeparate camps, about eight miles from the city.

Thapſus is a maritime town, covered, in part, on the land-ſide by a ſalt marſh, between which marſh and the ſea was a ſpace of about half a mile. It was on this ſide that Scipio purpoſed to fling ſuccours into the town; but Cæſar ſuſpecting his deſign, had there raiſed a fort, and lodged a good body of troops: So that Scipio finding there was nothing to be done there, was obliged to extend himſelf further along the coaſt, with intention to encamp. He had no ſooner begun laying out his camp, and raiſing his works, but Cæſar, who thought it now the proper time to begin the action, marched up with his whole army in order of battle, except two legions which he left behind to guard his camp. He had alſo ſent orders for ſome of his ſhips ſtationed on that coaſt, at an appointed ſignal, to fall down, and attack the enemy in the rear.

Scipio did not make a bad diſpoſition. He covered his pioneers, by his army, which he drew up at the head of the entrenchment, and he placed his elephants on the two wings. However, the enemy's approach occaſioned ſome confuſion: and Cæſar perceived it as he rode along the ranks, exhorting the old ſoldiers to keep up their uſual bravery; and the young ones to aſpire at the glory of the veterans. In paſſing backwards and forwards, he ſaw a good deal of motion and agitation among the enemy: many returned to their camp, which was yet unfiniſhed; and others came out in crowds, and with an air of diffidence and fear.

This was the time to begin the attack: and it ſeems beyond all doubt, by the meaſures Cæſar had hitherto taken, that his intention was to make uſe of the opportunity he had been waiting for. Yet the author

author of the Memoirs on the African war aſſures us, that he was ſtill dubious, and undetermined, whether he ſhould begin the engagement. But ſo great was the ardour of his troops, that the ſoldiers prevailed on a trumpet to ſound the charge, without waiting for orders: and notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers to the contrary, they moved up to the enemy: ſo that Cæſar was under the neceſſity of giving way to a torrent, whoſe courſe it was out of his power to ſtop, and at laſt gave the ſignal, and made choice of the word *felicitas* for the parole of the day. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

Suppoſing this to be fact, Cæſar's deſign, by this delay, muſt have been to augment the ardour of his troops. However, it was a dangerous breach of diſcipline, to put ſoldiers upon fighting, without waiting for the General's orders. Theſe circumſtances, and ſome other inſtances of the ſoldiers licentiouſneſs, which I ſhall obſerve in their proper place, ſeem to confirm what is related by Plutarch; that as Cæſar was giving his orders for the battle, he was taken with an epileptic fit, to which he was ſubject; and perceiving its approach by previous convulſions, he ordered himſelf to be carried into an adjacent turret, where he remained during the whole engagement. The writer of the African war, being a paſſionate admirer of Cæſar, may poſſibly have ſuppreſſed this diſagreeable and mortifying accident, which robbed his hero of the glory of ſo great a day. This omiſſion muſt neceſſarily occaſion a variation in the relation of the facts. Plut. Cæſ. Suet. Cæſ. c. 45. Plut.

Be it how it will, there was no reſiſting the courage and impetuoſity of Cæſar's army. The elephants were firſt put in confuſion, by the multiplicity of arrows and ſtones they were ſaluted with; and becoming wild through the anguiſh of their wounds, fled and broke the ranks which had been placed to ſuſtain them. The Mooriſh cavalry, being deprived of the aſſiſtance of the elephants, made no reſiſtance, and Cæſar's legions, purſuing their advantage, entered the Hirt. n. 83.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. the camp with the flying enemy, and got poſſeſſion of it. The valiant part of the enemy died in defence of their entrenchments, the reſt returned to the camp they had quitted the day before.

The ancient author whom I chiefly follow throughout this narration, relates here a remarkable inſtance of the courage of a veteran ſoldier. A wounded elephant, become furious through pain, attacked an unhappy attendant on the army; he had him under one of his feet, and kneeling with the whole weight of his body on this poor wretch's ſtomach, he there kept him in moſt exquiſite torture, till he had put an end to his life by repeated blows of his trunk. This horrid ſcene the ſoldier I am ſpeaking of, could not behold unmoved, but immediately attacked the elephant; who quitted the dead body, and ſeized the ſoldier, by wrapping his trunk round him; and in this manner lifted him up in the air, all armed as he was. In this dangerous extremity, the ſoldier ſummoned all his reſolution, and began cutting the elephant croſs the trunk with his ſword. The pain obliged the animal to quit his hold: he dropped him on the ground, and ran roaring to the other elephants. From that time the fifth legion, to which this ſoldier belonged, bore an elephant in its colours.

Scipio's army was defeated, but not deſtroyed: and if that General had had any judgment and preſence of mind, he might have ſaved a conſiderable part of it. For great numbers, who had retired to the camp they occupied the day preceding the battle, prepared to defend it with courage, and only wanted a proper perſon to head them. But no ſuch one was to be found; by reaſon Scipio, and all the other general officers, Petreius, Afranius, Labienus, had abandoned them. So that theſe unfortunate troops, perceiving themſelves purſued and attacked by the conquerors, quitted again this ſecond camp, and went to ſeek protection in Juba's. There they found the enemy, who had juſt made themſelves maſters of it. So that having now no further hopes of relief, they

laid down their arms and demanded quarter. But in vain: Cæſar's ſoldiers, eſpecially the veterans, being ent on ſlaughter, and thinking any thing allowable, fter ſo important a victory, put them every man to he ſword. The ancient author ſays, that they com- itted this barbarity in the very ſight of Cæſar, who as not able, either by threats or entreaties, to put a op to their fury. He adds, that they carried their iolence and audaciouſneſs ſo far, as to wound, and ven kill ſome perſons of diſtinction of their own my, whom they ſuſpected to wiſh well to the con- ary party. He mentions two by name; one of hom was actually killed, the other received a wound his arm, and had ſhared the ſame fate, if he had ot ſheltered himſelf behind the General. So many orders do not eaſily agree with the command and uthority Cæſar uſually had over his troops; but ther ſeem to confirm his abſence during the en- gement. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

However, if he had been there in perſon, the vic- ry could not have been more compleat. Ten thou- nd of the enemy were ſlain on the ſpot: the reſt re diſperſed by flight; and their three camps car- d ſword in hand. On the conquering ſide, there re but fifty ſoldiers killed, and a ſmall number unded.

Cæſar, according to his conſtant practice, allowed enemy no time to recover themſelves. He did he could to induce the Governor of Thapſus to e up the town; but not being able to ſucceed, he Caninius Rebilus, with three legions, before the e. He at the ſame time cauſed Tyſdrus, ano- important city of thoſe parts, to be inveſted by Domitius, who was to beſiege it with two legi- And himſelf, after having recompenſed ſuch his officers and ſoldiers as had ſignalized them- s in any extraordinary manner, during the en- ment, he ſet forwards to reduce Utica, being eded by a body of cavalry commanded by Meſ-

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. Plut. Cat.

Utica had been no eaſy conqueſt, if Cato could have found therein people of ſpirit and courage to ſecond him. I have already deſcribed the ſtrength of that place, and of its new works, as well as the prodigious magazines of arms and proviſions, which Cato had collected, and which might have enabled the town to hold out a long time. But the citizens heart were for Cæſar; the Romans ſettled in the town were under violent apprehenſions, and the garriſon was very weak, becauſe Cato's chief bent had been to make Scipio's army conſiderable. However, as he had been accuſtomed to contend with difficulties, he determined to try whatever was practicable, in the preſent ſituation of affairs.

His firſt buſineſs was to appeaſe the extraordinary trouble, and conſternation, the news of the defeat at Thapſus had occaſioned in the city. This account was brought in the night-time, which added to the confuſion. As Utica was but three days journey diſtant from the place where the battle was fought, they expected, every inſtant, to ſee the conqueror at the gates; ſo that the inhabitants were diſpoſed to abandon the town. Cato, in order to quell the tumult and to diſpel their alarms, went in perſon from ſtreet to ſtreet, and inſinuated, that perhaps the evil was not ſo great as was reported. The authority of his preſence revived their hopes, and for a while appeaſed their apprehenſions.

Cato took the advantage of this calm to aſſemble the council of the three hundred, that is, all the rich Roman merchants or bankers ſettled in Utica, of whom he had compoſed a kind of ſenate, from his firſt coming to that place. To theſe he alſo added ſuch ſenators, and ſenators ſons, as were with him. While the council was aſſembling, he came in with his uſual ſerenity, and read to thoſe that were already come, an account of the proviſions contained in the magazines of the city.

As ſoon as the members had taken their ſeats, he began by commending the zeal and fidelity of the

three hundred, of which they had given the ſtrongeſt proofs, in aiding the common cauſe with their perſons, their money, and their advice. He exhorted them not to let any private intereſt divide them, by purſuing different meaſures, according to the opportunities and hopes each one might have for the ſafety of his perſon: becauſe if they acted with unanimity, in caſe they determined to hold out, they would appear leſs contemptible to Cæſar; and ſhould they be diſpoſed to have recourſe to his clemency, he would ſtill have more conſideration for them. However, he declared he left them at liberty to make their election, nor ſhould he in any wiſe blame them, whatever might be their determination. "If," ſays he, "you take the fortunate ſide, I ſhall attribute your "change to neceſſity. If, on the contrary, you bear "up againſt your misfortunes, and are willing to "ſuſtain the burthen, and hazard the dangers of de"fending your liberty; in that caſe I not only ap"plaud you, but admire your virtue, and I offer "myſelf to be your guide and companion in ſo noble "an enterprize; even till no further reſource re"mains for our ſuffering country; to the very laſt "extremity. It is not Utica, Gentlemen, nor Adru"metum that is our country; but Rome. Rome, "who through a noble oppoſition to ſlavery, has of"ten recovered from greater calamities than thoſe "which now threaten her. There are many motives "to encourage us, and we have great reaſon to hope "for ſucceſs, eſpecially if we reflect that our enemy "is embroiled on all ſides. Spain has declared for young Pompey; and Rome itſelf, though ſubject to the tyrant, bears its yoke with indignation, and will take the firſt opportunity to ſhake it off. With reſpect to the hazards we muſt run, why ſhould they terrify us? Let us take example by our enemy, who braves all dangers to commit the moſt horrid violences: whereas the riſk we run, is to enjoy a very happy life, if we prove victorious; or if we fail, to ſhare the moſt honourable of all

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

A.R. 706. Ant. C. 46. "deaths. However, I would have you reflect, before you determine: and I wiſh, on account of "the virtue and courage you have hitherto ſhewn, "that your determination may be to your advantage."

This ſpeech at firſt had a ſurprizing effect. Some few were ſtruck with the reaſons Cato alledged: but the majority principally admired his generoſity, intrepidity, and compoſure of mind. They even almoſt forgot their diſtreſsful ſituation; and giving vent to a kind of enthuſiaſm, they beſtowed large encomiums on Cato, as alone invincible and ſuperior to fortune. The concluſion was, that they tendered him their perſons, their purſes, and their arms, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper; being convinced, as they ſaid, that it was more honourable to ſacrifice their lives in obedience to his orders, than to ſave themſelves by betraying ſo eminent virtue.

But all this generous ardour was, if I may uſe the expreſſion, but a flaſh, which the firſt reflection extinguiſhed, and which ceaſed to blaze, as ſoon as it was neceſſary that their actions ſhould confirm their words. It was propoſed to ſet the ſlaves at liberty, to be employed as ſoldiers in the defence of the city. Cato, who always conformed to juſtice with the greateſt ſtrictneſs, ſaid he would not wrong the maſters ſo much, as to take their ſlaves from them, but that he would willingly accept of as many as the owners would voluntarily give him. The Senators that were with him readily came into this propoſal: but the three hundred, who were perſons of trade and commerce, and whoſe riches conſiſted in the number of their ſlaves, were inſtantly damped at the apprehenſions of ſo conſiderable a loſs: and their fear of Cæſar at the ſame time reviving, they quickly loſt all their zealous ſentiments of honour, together with their reſpect for Cato. "Who are we? ſaid they "one to the other, and to whom do we refuſe to ſubmit? Does not Cæſar in his ſingle perſon, unite all "the forces of the empire? and are we Scipio's, Pom-

"peys

" peys, or Cato's to oppoſe him? What! at a time all A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.
" the earth ſubmits to his yoke, when the moſt deter-
" mined courage is not without apprehenſions, ſhall
" we undertake the defence of the Roman liberty?
" ſhall we diſpute the poſſeſſion of Utica with him, to
" whom Cato and Pompey the Great have abandoned
" Italy? and ſhall we ſet our ſlaves at liberty to fight
" againſt Cæſar, when we ourſelves have no more li-
" berty than what he is pleaſed to allow us? If we
" have not entirely loſt our ſenſes, let us be more juſt
" to ourſelves: let us not forget the character we bear
" in life, and let the means of obtaining the Con-
" queror's clemency be our only conſideration."

Such were the thoughts of ſome of the moſt moderate among the three hundred. But many others did not confine themſelves to feeble remonſtrances, but were villainous enough to form a deſign of ſeizing the Senators, to deliver them up to Cæſar, and by this piece of treachery hoped to purchaſe their peace. Cato ſuſpected their change: but did not for that alter his behaviour to them, not thinking it proper to put them under the neceſſity of declaring themſelves. But he was convinced it was next to impoſſible to think of ſaving Utica; and ſuch he declared his opinion in the letters he wrote to Scipio and Juba, who lay concealed not far from that city; the one at ſea behind a promontory, the other in the adjacent woods, and mountains, and had both applied to him for his protection, or to accompany him if he intended to retire.

The arrival of Scipio's cavalry, which had retreated from the field of battle towards Utica, gave Cato freſh hopes; at leaſt for ſome time. They were numerous, and, could they have been perſuaded to enter the town, ſufficient to influence the citizens, and over-awe the three hundred. But they were greatly divided as to what manner they ſhould act. Many of them had thoughts of tendering their ſervice to Juba: whilſt others were for acknowledging Cato for their Chief. And a third party, fluctuating be-

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. between both, had only determined not to enter Utica, on account of the known affection the inhabitants had for Cæſar. In the midſt of this diverſity of opinions, they agreed in one point, which was to ſend a deputation to Cato, notifying their arrival.

Cato came out to them, attended by all the Senators, except M. Rubrius, whom he left to watch the motions of the three hundred, during his abſence. He addreſſed the commanders of this body of cavalry, and intreated them not to give themſelves to a foreign Prince, to a Mooriſh King; but to prefer Cato to Juba. He repreſented to them, how diſhonourable it would be to abandon all thoſe illuſtrious Senators which were then preſent; and inſinuated, that by affording a protection to the Senators, they would no leſs effect their own ſafety, by entering a city whoſe fortifications rendered it impregnable, and wherein were magazines of all ſorts for ſeveral years. After this ſhort harangue, to which the Senators ſubjoined their tears and intreaties, the Officers went to conſult their troops: and Cato ſat himſelf down on an eminence, waiting their anſwer.

Here Rubrius came to him, complaining of the audaciouſneſs of the three hundred, who had revolted and raiſed a commotion in the city: a freſh cauſe of terror and conſternation to the Senators, and a further trial of Cato's conſtancy. He uſed his endeavours to hearten the Senators, and ſent back Rubrius to Utica, with orders to the three hundred to be quiet and wait his return. The cavalry's anſwer, which he received ſoon after, ſerved to augment his difficulties. They declared that they had no inclination for Juba, nor any apprehenſions of Cæſar, when once they were under Cato's command; but that they could not truſt the inhabitants of Utica, originally Phœnicians, and as perfidious as had formerly been their brother Carthaginians. "If this fickle, "deceitful people," ſaid they, "remain at preſent "quiet, it is only till Cæſar's arrival. Let him be "but once at their gates, and they will join him

"again t

"againſt us. If therefore you are willing to make A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.
"uſe of our aſſiſtance, you muſt previouſly kill or
"expel all the Uticans. Then we will undertake
"the defence of the city, when cleared of its Barba-
"rian enemies." Cato thought the propoſal made to him by the cavalry, as unreaſonable as cruel: however, he mildly anſwered them, that he muſt firſt return into the city, to take the opinion of the three hundred.

The complaints brought to him of the merchants and traders were but too well founded. He found them very reſolute; no longer ſeeking pretences to palliate their diſaffection, but declaring frankly that it was very odd, people ſhould think of forcing them to make war againſt Cæſar, when they had neither the power nor inclination to do it. There were even ſome who explained themſelves pretty fully on the project of ſeizing the Senators, and delivering them up to Cæſar. But Cato took no notice of what they ſaid with reſpect to this laſt deſign, pretending not to hear them: and which he might do with the greater air of truth, as he actually was a little deaf. However, it gave him the deepeſt concern. He now made it his great and only application how to ſecure the lives and retreat of the Senators. As, from the diſpoſition he ſaw people in, he had given over all hopes of defending Utica, he determined not to ſurvive its loſs: but he did not think for that reaſon, that he ought to be unconcerned as to what became of his followers; and though he was indifferent as to the ſafety of his own perſon, yet he made it his chief attention to procure the ſafety of his friends.

His apprehenſions therefore redoubled, when word was brought him, that the cavalry, weary with waiting for his anſwer, were marching off. He roſe from his ſeat, and went to a place from whence he could diſcover them, where perceiving that they were actually upon their march, he immediately took horſe and purſued them. Upon his coming up to them, they received him with joy, and adviſed him to ſave

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. himſelf in their company. But that being the furtheſt from his thoughts, he earneſtly entreated them, and, as it is reported, joined tears to his entreaties, that they would protect the Senators in their retreat, and extricate them from the dangers they were expoſed to, in the midſt of a perfidious people, who had already meditated their ruin. He neglected nothing which could induce the ſoldiers to relent, or excite their compaſſion: he extended his arms to them, turned their horſes heads, and embraced the ſoldiers in their armour. At length he prevailed with them ſo far as to conſent to halt one day; and on their return poſted ſome at the gates of the city, and others he entruſted with the care of the citadel.

The three hundred, alarmed at this proceeding, ſent to Cato to deſire him to come to council. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the power an exalted virtue has over mens hearts, than the ſentiments of admiration, tenderneſs, and reſpect, which every perſon then in Utica teſtified for Cato. They were all divided in intereſt and opinion, and ready to become each other's enemies, and to cut each other's throats; yet they all agreed in admiring and cheriſhing a ſingle man, who maintained tranquillity and peace in the midſt of ſo many minds, diſtracted by fear, or exaſperated through party-rage. When Cato received the meſſage from the three hundred, the Senators endeavoured to diſſuade him from complying with it, and told him they could never conſent to deliver up their protector and preſerver to infidels and traitors. But Cato knew there was no cauſe to be alarmed; and having repreſented as much to the Senators, he went unattended to the council.

The members thanked him greatly for the confidence he repoſed in them, and proteſted their zeal to ſerve him in any other manner but in war; and entreated him, if they were not Cato's, and could not attain his exalted ſentiments, to have compaſſion on their inability. They added, that they had come to a reſolution to ſend deputies to Cæſar to implore his cle-

clemency: but that the firſt and principal object of their ſollicitations ſhould be Cato, for whom if they could not obtain a protection, they would not accept any pardon for themſelves, but would fight in his defence, to the laſt moment of their lives. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

Cato acknowledged himſelf obliged to them for their good intentions, approved of their deſign of ſubmitting to Cæſar, and adviſed them to loſe no time. But forbid them to make any mention of him in their ſollicitations. "It is for the * vanquiſhed, "ſaid he, to have recourſe to prayers, and for thoſe "who are in fault to ſue for pardon. As for me, I "have been invincible during the whole courſe of my "life, and even now am as victorious as I wiſh to be, "and triumph over Cæſar by the ſuperiority of juſtice "and equity. It is he that is conquered; it is he that "is overpowered: being this day attainted and con-"victed by undeniable evidence (notwithſtanding he "has always denied it) of plotting againſt his country."

Cato, as he came out from this conference with the three hundred, received intelligence that Cæſar was on his march with the greateſt part of his forces, to beſiege Utica. "Alas! ſays Cato, he pays us a com-"pliment we certainly do not deſerve; he takes us "for men."

Another meſſage, which he received preſently after, gave room for another very judicious reflection of his. M. Octavius ſent to let him know that he was near Utica with two legions, and was ready to join him, but that it was neceſſary firſt to ſettle which of them ſhould command in chief. Cato returned no anſwer to the meſſage: but addreſſing himſelf to his friends: "Well, ſays he, ought we to be ſur-"priſed that our affairs have not ſucceeded, when at "the very inſtant of our deſtruction, we are contend-"ing for the vain ambition of commanding?"

* Κεκρατημένων γὰρ εἶναι δίκην, καὶ ἀδικούντων τὴν παραίτησιν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀ μόνον ἀπῆλθε γελοίνας παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νικᾶν ἐφ ὅσον ἐξέλειπε καὶ κρατεῖν καίσαρος τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ δικαίοις. ἱκέτην δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἡλωκότα καὶ ἡττημένον. ἃ γὰρ ἁμαρτὼν φράζειν καλὰ τῆς πατρίδος πάλαι, νῦν ἐξηλέγχθαι καὶ σφαλῆναι. PLUT. Cat.

The

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. The time granted by the cavalry was now expired; who, when they left the city, gave Cato a freſh opportunity of diſplaying his zeal for juſtice and honeſty. They began plundering Utica, which they conſidered as an enemy's town. Cato was no ſooner appriſed of this outrage, than he haſtened to put a ſtop to it. He ſnatched their unjuſt booty out of the hands of ſome of the firſt who came in his way; and the reſt being confounded by his preſence, immediately dropped what they were carrying off, and expreſſing their ſhame of ſuch a proceeding by their ſilence and downcaſt looks, departed for the territories of King Juba, there to put themſelves under his protection. They were accompanied by ſome Senators, particularly by Fauſtus Sylla, who gave to each of them an hundred ſeſterces. And if credit may be given to the author of the Memoirs of the African war, Cato was obliged to make them the like preſent to prevail on them to ſpare the inhabitants of Utica.

De B. Afr. n. 87.

Moſt of the Senators had preferred eſcaping by ſea, to putting themſelves under Juba's protection, and therefore continued yet in the city. As their danger increaſed by the cavalry's going off, and more ſo by Cæſar's approach, Cato took the laſt meaſures for haſtening and ſecuring their retreat. He kept all the gates of the city ſhut, except that leading to the ſea: he provided veſſels for them, diſtributed money to ſuch as might want it, gave directions for the embarkation, and uſed all endeavours to prevent the confuſion which commonly attends a precipitate retreat. He took leave of ſome who were for immediately ſetting out, and perſuaded others to follow them, who through their attachment to him, were inclined to ſtay. There was only his ſon and one Statilius, who could not be prevailed on to leave him.

He did not much endeavour to diſſuade the former, thinking he ought not to oppoſe his filial piety and natural tenderneſs. With reſpect to Statilius, he made uſe of the moſt cogent arguments, on account of that

that Senator's known averſion to Cæſar. But he was a young man full of fire, who piqued himſelf on his conſtancy and greatneſs of ſoul, and a great ſtickler for Cato. He therefore adhered to his determination; and Cato finding him inflexible, ſaid to two philoſophers who conſtantly attended him: "It is "your buſineſs to bend that ſtubborn reſolution, and "give it a more uſeful turn." A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

The Senators were not the only objects of Cato's care. As his own particular ſafety was no longer his concern, he ſeemed to be more tenderly concerned for the ſafety of thoſe about him. He now permitted the common people, whom he had compelled to encamp without the walls, to return into the city. And as theſe citizens had been always inclined to Cæſar, he begged of them to intercede for the three hundred, who, till the battle of Thapſus, had been of the republican party; to make it one common cauſe with thoſe Romans eſtabliſhed among them, and mutually to endeavour to procure their common ſafety.

Not content with this, he did a remarkable piece of ſervice for the three hundred, and directly oppoſite to his own private opinion. L. Cæſar, a relation of the Dictator, (but of a branch which had always declared againſt him, and appeared ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of liberty) however, probably confiding in his alliance of blood, had continued in Utica, and even undertook to addreſs the Dictator, in behalf of the three hundred. As he judged it neceſſary to prepare a ſpeech for this occaſion, he begged Cato to aſſiſt him in the compoſition: Cato, who at all other times ſo greatly affected ſtate, and avoided all appearance of condeſcenſion, conſented to it: and employed the moſt favourable expreſſions to repreſent the cauſe, and ſought the moſt ſpecious pretences to excuſe the behaviour of the three hundred.

This L. Cæſar offered to be mediator for Cato. "I will throw myſelf," ſaid he, "at the Dictator's "feet, I will embrace his knees." "By no means," replied Cato; "were I diſpoſed to owe my life to "Cæſar,

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. "Cæſar, I myſelf ſhould be the propereſt perſon to "go to him. But I do not intend to be obliged to "him for the injuſtices he commits. For it is unjuſt "in him to pardon as a maſter, perſons, over whom "he has no right, nor lawful power." So that Cato, when L. Cæſar ſet out, contented himſelf with recommending his ſon and friends to him.

Theſe different occupations employed him a whole night and great part of the next day. As ſoon as he returned to his own houſe, he aſſembled all his family, that is his friends and his ſon; and among other diſcourſe, he forbid his ſon to have any ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs. "You cannot do it," ſaid he to him, "in a manner worthy the name you "bear: to do it upon any other conditions, were "baſe and ſcandalous."

He afterwards went into the bath, and there calling to mind Statilius, enquired after him of Apollonides, one of the two Philoſophers recommended to perſuade him to conſult his own ſafety. "Have you "ſucceeded," ſaid he, "with Statilius? is he gone "without taking leave of us?" "No," replied the Philoſopher, "he is unalterable, and declares he will "abſolutely ſtay here, and do as you do. Cato "ſmiled and only made anſwer, We ſhall ſoon be able "to judge of that."

After bathing, he ſupped with a great deal of company; having invited all his friends and the magiſtrates of the city. They ſat late at table, and the converſation was lively, gay and inſtructive, turning on certain points of moral philoſophy. But ſomebody having changed the diſcourſe to the paradoxes of the Stoics, ſuch as are theſe maxims, "That the "wiſe man alone is free,—That the vicious are ſlaves," which Demetrius a Peripatetic Philoſopher, then in company, undertook to refute from the principles of his ſect. Cato was extremely warm with him, and treated the matter ſo amply, and ſpoke with ſo much fire, earneſtneſs, and vehemence of voice, that he betrayed himſelf, and confirmed the ſuſpicions his friends

friends had already conceived, of his deſign to kill himſelf. As ſoon as he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, a melancholy ſilence diffuſed itſelf through the whole company. Cato perceived it, and to divert their concern, ſpoke of the preſent ſituation of affairs, and of ſuch perſons as were on their return, expreſſing his uneaſineſs on their account, from the ſtorms that ſome might be expoſed to, and from the dry ſandy deſerts that others muſt be obliged to paſs. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

In this manner the ſupper ended: after which Cato walked for ſome time, as was his conſtant practice; and having given his orders to the officers of the guard, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unuſual tenderneſs to his ſon and to all his friends: this renewed and confirmed their ſuſpicions of the fatal reſolution he had taken.

When he came into his chamber, he laid himſelf on his bed, and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the ſoul: and having made a conſiderable progreſs in it, happening to caſt his eyes on the head of his bed, he was much ſurprized not to ſee his ſword there; which had been taken away by his ſon's order, while they were at ſupper. Cato called a ſlave, and aſked him, what was become of his ſword; and receiving no anſwer, reſumed his reading. Some time after he again aſked for his ſword, but without any hurry, or paſſion, as if he had no particular deſign. When he had done reading, perceiving that nobody was diſpoſed to bring it him, he called all his ſlaves one after the other, and raiſing his voice, told them, he was determined to have his ſword. His paſſion carried him ſo far as to ſtrike one of them with his fiſt ſo violently on the mouth, that his hand was all bloody. "What then?" ſaid he with indignation, "do my ſon and family conſpire to deliver me, to my "enemy, unarmed and defenceleſs?"

Then came in his ſon, accompanied by his friends, and with tears in his eyes beſought him, in the moſt humble manner, to be prevailed on to change his reſolution. Cato got up, and with a look that beſpoke

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. ſpoke his reſentment: "Since when, then," ſaid he, "have I loſt my ſenſes, that my ſon is become my "keeper? I am treated juſt like a madman. No "one makes uſe of argument or perſuaſion to un- "deceive me, if I am in an error; but I am to be "prevented diſpoſing of my perſon, by being diſ- "armed. Brave and generous ſon, why do you not "put your father in chains? why do you not tie my "hands behind me, till Cæſar come and find me in- "capable of defence? Had I a mind to deſtroy my- "ſelf, I could equally effect it without a ſword; "ſince by holding my breath for ſome moments, or "only once daſhing my head againſt the wall, I could "diſpatch myſelf, were I ſo diſpoſed." Theſe terri- ble words, which certainly exceed what ought to be ſtiled courage, ſo ſhocked young Cato, that he retir- ed with loud lamentations.

His father, being now alone with the philoſophers, Demetrius and Apollonides, ſpoke to them more mildly. "Do you alſo, ſaid he to them, approve of "forcing a man of my years to live, againſt his in- "clination, and of keeping a conſtant watch over his "actions? Or have you any reaſons to alledge, to "convince me, that it is not unworthy Cato, nor "ſcandalous for him, to owe his ſafety to his enemy? "Why then do not you diſplay theſe arguments, ſo "new to me; that by renouncing the maxims where- "in we were educated, and growing wiſer by Cæſar's "leſſons, we may ſtill be the more obliged to him? "As yet I have determined nothing as to the mea- "ſures I ſhall purſue; but that determination once "made, I muſt be at liberty to carry it into execu- "tion. I will partly take it into conſideration with "you, and demand your aſſiſtance in explaining to "me the principles of philoſophy, which you both "teach and practiſe. Ceaſe then your apprehenſi- "ons: go, and tell my ſon, not to undertake to force "his father to what he cannot perſuade him to." It is pretty odd that Cato ſhould that inſtant deny his having determined how to act. All his preceding beha-

behaviour ſeems openly to declare the contrary; and I ſee not how he can here be excuſed his want of ſincerity. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

Demetrius and Apollonides made him no anſwer, but retired weeping. A young ſlave brought him his ſword: Cato drew it, examined it, and finding the point to be ſharp and fit for execution, "Now," ſays he, "I am my own maſter." He laid down his ſword, took up his book, and read it from the beginning to the end. Plutarch aſſures us, that he afterwards ſlept, and ſo ſoundly, that thoſe who waited without, and liſtened at the door, heard him ſnore. However, it does not ſeem very credible, that between the violent agitation he had been ſo lately in, and the moment preceding his death, he could enjoy an uninterrupted ſleep. One would be more apt to think, that by his affectation of tranquillity, he hoped to augment the falſe glory he expected from a voluntary death.

About midnight he called two of his freedmen; one of which, named Cleanthes, was his Phyſician or Surgeon; the other, by name Butas, was principally entruſted with the management of his affairs. He diſpatched this latter to the ſea-ſide, in order to ſee and let him know if every body was embarked. The ſervice Cleanthes did him, was to dreſs his hand, which had got an inflammation, occaſioned by the violent blow he had given his ſlave. Cato, by this application to his hand, gave freſh hopes and comfort to his family, who concluded he had not renounced life, ſince he was ſtill careful of his body.

Butas returned, and brought word that every body was embarked but Craſſus, who was then going on board: but that the wind was very high, and the ſea very rough. Theſe laſt words drew a ſigh from Cato: he lamented thoſe who under ſuch circumſtances were obliged to put to ſea. He ſent Butas a ſecond time to the port, to ſee if there might not be ſome one, who in the hurry of the embarkation had forgot ſome neceſſary proviſions, and been obliged to put back to

Utica.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. Utica. It was now near break of day; and Cato, if we may believe Plutarch, ſlept a little more. But being interrupted by Butas, who ſoon returned, and aſſured his patron that all was perfectly quiet, Cato ordered him to ſhut the door, and before he left the room, flung himſelf upon his bed, as if he intended to finiſh his night's reſt.

He was no ſooner alone than he ſtabbed himſelf with his ſword, a little below his cheſt; but not with that violence he intended, on account of the indiſpoſition of his hand. So that he did not die immediately, but in ſtruggling he fell from his bed, and overturned a table he made uſe of for geometrical figures. At the noiſe he made in his fall, his ſervants gave a ſhriek, and his ſon and friends immediately entered the room. They found him ſwimming in his blood, and his bowels fallen out at the aperture of the wound. However, he was ſtill alive, and could yet ſee. The Surgeon came, and ſeeing the inteſtines were not wounded, was for replacing them and ſewing up the wound. But when Cato had recovered his ſenſes, and underſtood their intention to preſerve his life, he puſhed the Surgeon from him, and with a fierceneſs, the very relation of which makes one tremble, tore out his bowels and expired.

Such was Cato's death: a death celebrated by all antiquity; but which the principles of our holy religion muſt condemn, and which reaſon itſelf cannot approve. I do not here intend to expatiate on thoſe principles, which inconteſtably prove ſuicide to be criminal: but ſhall confine myſelf to what is proper to my ſubject; and only deſire that my readers, in recollecting the ſhort obſervations I have interſperſed in this narration, would be pleaſed to add one ſingle reflection more, ariſing from the facts themſelves. Which is, that it is evident, that pride was the motive of Cato's deſperate reſolution, and that, by the aſſiſtance of that vice only, he ſurmounted the fear of death, which he looked upon as a weakneſs. Plutarch makes him ſay to himſelf, that it would be ſhame-

ſhameful and unworthy of him to owe his life to Cæſar. Theſe were his apprehenſions. He could not ſupport the thought of ſuch an humiliation: and that he might not be obliged to his enemy for his life, he preferred depriving himſelf of it, by an act of deſpair. It is true, this pride, in his conceit, paſſed for a virtue. But it was certainly a vice, being condemned by all religion, and even by morality. However, I will go ſtill further; and think I can convict him from his own principles. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

The virtue, which he moſt piqued himſelf upon, during the whole courſe of his life, was an invincible conſtancy ſuperior to all events. If ſo, it is evident that his death was the effect of a ſudden loſs of courage, of a laſſitude of contending, and of a dejection of mind which would not permit him to perſiſt in his oppoſition. The remains of Pompey's party began to revive in Spain, and became afterwards very formidable. So that to have kept up to his character, Cato ought to have yet tried that reſource: and to kill himſelf, while yet any hopes ſubſiſted, was deviating from his principles, and abandoning too ſoon the cauſe of liberty.

So that I am very far from conſidering Cato's death as an act of heroiſm. It is in his attention to the ſafety of his friends, when he himſelf made his life no longer his care; it is in his invariable humanity to the three hundred, and the inhabitants of Utica; it is in his love for juſtice, which induced him to oppoſe all violence in thoſe of his own party; it is in theſe circumſtances alone that I find him the true hero.

This generous humanity was not only remarkable in the latter part of his life: it was the conſtant director of his actions and conduct: I know that this is not the idea commonly formed of Cato. Reſolution, haughtineſs, and an auſterity approaching to brutality, are the qualities moſt uſually attributed to him. This idea, though juſt, yet is not compleat; and to enter entirely into his character, it is neceſſary to add

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. to his oppoſition to vice, his compaſſion for the offenders: a compaſſion, not the effect of mere opinion, ſubject to changes and caprices; but proceeding from right reaſon, and always the ſame, becauſe founded on unalterable principles. This is evident in his tender friendſhip for his brother, in his regard for Muræna, whom he impeached, in the tears he ſhed on ſeeing the ſlaughter of his fellow-citizens, laſtly, in his moderation and mildneſs to all with whom he had to contend in the defence of the liberty and laws of his country. I except only Cæſar, who, doing evil methodically, and going the ſhorteſt way to tyranny, without ever deviating from his plan, could be conſidered no otherwiſe by Cato than as a common enemy, againſt whom the whole ſtate ought to riſe up in arms, and who ought to be treated with ſeverity, becauſe there were no hopes of his amendment.

If to theſe two principal parts of his character, reſolution and humanity, be added his elevated genius, the extent and ſagacity of his views, his indefatigable application to buſineſs, and his purity of manners, we ſhall find, notwithſtanding ſome defects which we have occaſionally taken notice of, that he ought to be eſteemed one of the moſt valuable and virtuous men Paganiſm ever produced: nor need we be ſurprized that Virgil * has placed him in the Elyſian fields at the head of the friends to virtue: and perhaps we may think the high compliment paid him by Livy and reported by St. Jerom, not ill applied. "Cato † ſaid that judicious writer, has been celebrated, and condemned, by two of the greateſt genius's that ever exiſted. But no one could either add to his reputation by commendations, or detract from it by cenſure. The two great genius's Livy ſpeaks of, are Cicero and

* Secretoſque pios, his dantem jura Catonem. VIRG. Æn. l. VI v. 670.

† Cujus gloriæ neque profuit quiſquam laudando, nec vituperando quiſquam nocuit, quum utrumque ſummis præditi fecerint ingenii LIV. apud Hieron. Prob. I. II. in Oſeam.

Cæſa

Cæſar. The firſt had compoſed a panegyric on Cato, which is loſt, and which he called by the name of his hero. The latter anſwered it in two tracts, intitled "Anticatones," but neither of them ſurvived the work they endeavoured to refute. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 48.

The only circumſtance wherein Cato's conduct of life ſeems reproachable, and wherein it is moſt difficult to excuſe him, was his behaviour to his wife Marcia. He had ſeveral children by her, and ſhe was actually big at the time Hortenſius took it into his head to aſk him for her. Cato readily agreed to the reſigning her, and as ſoon as he had procured her father Philippus's conſent, gave her away himſelf in marriage to Hortenſius. But Hortenſius dying ſoon after, and bequeathing his great riches to Marcia, in prejudice of his ſon, who was ſomewhat diſſolute; Cato made no ſcruple to retake her. From thence Cæſar has taken occaſion to tax Cato with having tranſacted this whole affair through a ſordid principle. But Plutarch pretends that ſuch an accuſation is refuted in the very propoſition, and that it is the ſame thing to tax Hercules with cowardice, as to charge Cato with avarice. The thing certainly admits of more difficulty, or rather is abſolutely inexcuſable. For allowing what Strabo has advanced to be true, that Cato in that only followed a long eſtabliſhed cuſtom among the Romans; that pretended cuſtom is ſo contrary to common honeſty, and morality, that it would have been more becoming a perſon of his dignity to oppoſe it, than to give it a ſanction by his example. Strabo. l. XI. p. 515.

Cato was forty-eight years old when he died: and the place of his death has occaſioned his being ſtiled in hiſtory, Cato of Utica, to diſtinguiſh him from Cato the Cenſor, his great-grandfather.

In an inſtant the news of Cato's death was ſpread through the city; which drew an incredible concourſe, as well of the three hundred, as of the Uticans, about his houſe. They made the air reſound with encomiums on the dead hero, ſtiling him their benefactor,

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. their ſaviour, alone free and invincible; and in dulged theſe their tranſports, notwithſtanding they knew Cæſar was ſo near them. But neither the apprehenſions of the conqueror's reſentment, nor any inclination to flatter him, nor their own private feuds were capable of damping their zeal for honouring Cato's virtue. They ſolemnized his obſequies with great pomp, and erected a monument to him near the ſea-ſhore, where, in Plutarch's days, was extant a ſtatue of Cato, holding a ſword in his hand.

His very enemies could not refuſe him their commendations. The author of the Memoirs of the African war, all devoted as he is to Cæſar, confirms Cato's integrity, and acknowledges that he was extremely different from the reſt of the chiefs of the conquered party.

De B. Afr. n. 88.

Cæſar being informed of his death, broke out into this exclamation: "O Cato*! I envy you the glory "of your death: for you have envied me that of "ſaving your life." Whether he ſpoke ſincerely in expreſſing his deſire of ſaving his moſt implacable enemy, is what Plutarch thought he might have liberty to doubt. And this doubt he founds on the heavy invectives with which Cæſar had filled his Anticatones. How could he have ſpared living, ſays the hiſtorian, the man, to whoſe very memory he had ſhewn ſo deadly an hatred? This argument may be ſupported by two conſiderations; one taken from the lively reſentment Cæſar ſhewed, as I have already taken notice of, and which I ſhall have a further opportunity of obſerving, againſt thoſe who had kindled the war in Africa: the other, which is full as weighty, may be drawn from the impoſſibility of Cato and Cæſar's ever agreeing in the ſame manner of thinking, acting, or ſpeaking. However, Plutarch determines in Cæſar's favour: and it is certain that the extraordinary inſtances of clemency he has ſhewn, a

* Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τῷ θανάτῳ, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῆς σεαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφθόνη
PLUT. Cæſ. & Cat.

the infinite honour ſuch an act of generoſity would have done him, are motives which ſtrengthen the probability of this conjecture. Eſpecially, if Cato had put in execution the ſcheme he had formed, on a ſuppoſition that affairs might have taken another turn, of confining himſelf to ſome diſtant iſland, there to paſs the remainder of his days in quiet, I cannot think that Cæſar would have ſullied his glory by the death of ſo virtuous a man. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

He was not far from Utica, at the time Cato killed himſelf: and in his paſſage he had taken the city of Uſcæta, where Scipio had collected great magazines; he had alſo made himſelf maſter of Adrumetum, where he met with Q. Ligarius, whoſe life he pardoned, but would not permit him to return to Rome. Before he entered Utica, he was met by L. Cæſar, who proſtrating himſelf before him, obtained for the preſent the pardon he ſued for. However, he did not enjoy it long. The Dictator could not but reſent the behaviour of this his young relation, who had on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf his implacable enemy, had treated ſeveral of his domeſtics with more than ordinary cruelty, and had ordered the beaſts to be killed, which the Conqueror had reſerved for the games he intended to give the Roman people. So that ſome time after he called him to an account for the abovementioned irregularities, and without pronouncing his condemnation, ſtirred up the ſoldiers to kill him, as it were in a mutiny. He was more ſincere in pardoning ſeveral Romans of high rank, who had continued in Utica, the moſt eminent of whom was Cato's ſon. De B. Afr. n. 89. Suet. Cæſ. n. 75. De B. Afr.

The citizens, who had always been ſtaunch to him, had nothing to expect but commendations and rewards. Not ſo the three hundred; who, as they had ſerved both Scipio and Varus, with inclination and affection, during the whole courſe of the war, and had had no other inducement to ſide with Cæſar than his ſucceſs, were under mortal apprehenſions. Cæſar's deſign, however, was only to puniſh them in their

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. pocket: but he began by intimidating them with a long and enforced invective, wherein he greatly exaggerated their pretended crime. Then growing milder, he promiſed them their lives, but declared that their effects ſhould be ſold, which, however, were to be redeemable on payment of a certain tax. The three hundred, who expected to have been treated with the utmoſt rigour, ſubmitted with joy and gratitude to the penalties preſcribed them. They only deſired Cæſar to impoſe a general tax, and leave the aſſeſſment of it to them. This was doubtleſs what he wanted; ſo that he taxed them at two hundred millions of ſeſterces, to be paid at ſix equal payments into the public treaſury of the Roman people, in the ſpace of three years. Theſe were the terms Cæſar made uſe of; but at that time the Roman people had nothing left but the name; the real power and authority, as well as the management of the finances were ſolely veſted in the Dictator.

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By this time Juba was returned to his kingdom, after a very fatiguing retreat, marching only in the night, and concealing himſelf during the day, in ſuch cottages as he met with in his route. As Sabura his Lieutenant had been defeated and killed by Sittius, he had no other hope left than to ſhut himſelf up in Zama, his capital, which he had taken care to well fortify. But he found by experience that a government maintained by cruelty and barbarity, creates infidelity in its ſubjects. Before he proceeded on his expedition, he had ordered a great pile to be erected on the market-place of Zama, and declared he intended, in caſe he ſhould be defeated, to put all the inhabitants to death, and then place their bodies, himſelf, his treaſure, his wives and children on the pile, to be there conſumed by the flames. So deſperate a reſolution had ſtruck the inhabitants of Zama with horror; ſo that they were not at all diſpleaſed to hear of Cæſar's ſucceſs; and when Juba thought to have entered the city, they ſhut the gates againſt him. He at firſt aſſumed his authority, and threatened them; but find-

finding it to no purpoſe, he next had recourſe to entreaties, though with no better ſucceſs: he then deſired only to have his wives and children delivered up to him, but this requeſt was alſo denied him. Whereupon he retired to his palace in the country, attended by Petreius, and a few horſemen who had accompanied him. Even in this abandoned ſtate he was yet formidable to the inhabitants of Zama; and they ſent deputies to Cæſar to deſire him to come to their aſſiſtance. Cæſar, who was then at Utica, ſet out the next day. He found the whole country open to him, and every body ſought his protection. And now the unfortunate Juba, having no reſource left, determined to die. Petreius and he agreed on a duel, with intent mutually to kill each other. But the ſtronger too eaſily triumphed over the weaker, and Petreius alone was killed. Juba attempted to ſtab himſelf; but not having reſolution enough to effect it, ordered one of his ſlaves to kill him. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

The Conqueror's fortune bore down all before it, with ſuch irreſiſtible rapidity, as entirely to extirpate the remains of the conquered party. The cities of Tyſdrus and Thapſus, which Cæſar had ordered to be beſieged by his Lieutenants, were not long before they ſurrendered. Fauſtus Sylla and Afranius, who fled with a body of fifteen hundred horſe, and were making for Spain, fell in with Sittius, who had defeated Sabura. This body was by him routed and diſperſed, and the two Chiefs were taken priſoners. Nor had Metellus Scipio better ſucceſs in his flight. He had collected twelve ſhips, with which he purpoſed to get to Spain. But having been obliged, through ſtreſs of weather, to put into Hippo, he there fell in with Sittius's fleet, and was inſtantly ſurrounded. As he perceived there was no preventing his ſhips being taken, rather than fall into Cæſar's hands, he ſtabbed himſelf, and in his laſt moments gave an inſtance of his greatneſs of ſoul. For when ſome of the enemy's ſoldiers, who had boarded his ſhip, enquired, what Sen. Ep. ii. 4.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. was become of the General? he replied with his dying voice, "The General is ſafe."

All Cæſar's enemies in Africa being thus ruined, the Conqueror allowed himſelf ſome time for calming the country, and for making a diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments according to the different ſervices that had been done him. He reduced Numidia to a Roman province, and gave the government of it to Salluſt, who exerciſed there ſuch flagrant oppreſſions, that it gave room for Dio to conjecture he had Cæſar's expreſs orders for ſo doing, and that he was not ſo much deputed to govern Numidia, as to plunder it. The ſame Dio remarks, that this conduct of Salluſt is ſtill the more blameable, as he affects throughout his works an air of probity, not to ſay ſeverity: ſo that though he, through Cæſar's protection, on quitting his government eſcaped a judiciary condemnation, he nevertheleſs is condemned, which is ſtill more ſcandalous, by his own writings.

Dio. l. XLIII.

De B. Afr. Appian. Civ. l. iv. Among the Numidians Cæſar diſtinguiſhed thoſe of Zama, and rewarded them for having ſhut their gates againſt their King, by a total exemption of taxes. Sittius, who had done him ſuch ſignal ſervice, was by him, together with his people, put in poſſeſſion of Cirta, which had formerly been the royal city of Maſiniſſa and of Syphax, and which from the name of its new inhabitants has ſince been called the "Colony of the Sittians."

In the penalties he inflicted, he was guided by his averſion to cruelty, and by his covetouſneſs after money. So that he took care not to extend his reſentment to Juba's ſon, who was yet a child; but he made a ſale in Zama of his entire patrimony, and of the effects of the Roman citizens who were ſettled there, and had appeared in arms againſt him. On his return to Utica, he in like manner confiſcated and ſold the effects of all who had had the rank of Centurion under Petreius, and under Juba. He taxed the cities of Adrumetum and Thapſus, and exacted a yearly

De B. Afr.

yearly revenue in oil and corn, from Leptis and Tyſdrus. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

Of the Romans of diſtinction, of whoſe fate victory had given him the diſpoſal, two were put to death, Fauſtus Sylla and Afranius. And though the author of the Memoirs of the African war ſays, that this was in conſequence of a ſedition among the ſoldiery, yet it is eaſy to ſee that this commotion was the effect of Cæſar's policy. And, indeed, all other writers aſcribe their death to his orders. Doubtleſs he thought he had a right to treat Afranius with rigour, who, though he had given him his life in Spain, had oppoſed him afreſh both in Theſſaly and Africa; and even at the time he was taken by Sittius, was making preparations to go and join Pompey's ſon in Spain. Fauſtus was not only Pompey's ſon-in-law, but the ſon of Sylla, to whom Cæſar had ever had a violent averſion, and whoſe ſchemes he had conſtantly endeavoured to ſubvert. However, he ſpared Pompeia the wife of Fauſtus Sylla, and her children. Suet. Cæſ. n. 75. Flor. l. IV. c. 2. Dio, &c.

Afranius, Fauſtus Sylla, and L. Cæſar are the only perſons of note, whoſe blood Cæſar ſpilt after the battle of Thapſus; which, however, is a conſiderable exception to the encomium beſtowed on his clemency by Cicero, when he aſſerts generally, "* that the citizens which the Republic loſt, were carried off by the common chance of war, and not through any resentment of the conquerors."

But thoſe three excepted, his rigour to the vanquiſhed extended no further than baniſhment. This was the only diſtinction he made between thoſe, who readily ſubmitted after the battle of Pharſalia, and thoſe, whoſe obſtinacy obliged him to conquer them a ſecond time in Africa. The firſt, for the moſt part, were immediately reſtored to all their former priviledges; and a baniſhment from Italy, and Rome, was the puniſhment of the obſtinacy of the latter. Yet Dio.

* Quos amiſimus cives, eos Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ. Cic. pro Marc. n. 17.

he

A.R. 706. Ant. C. 46. he permitted all his friends and principal officers to exempt each his friend from this penalty: and young Octavius made the firſt trial of his credit with his great uncle in obtaining this favour for Agrippa's brother, who from that time became his firm friend. In proceſs of time Cæſar grew ſtill more moderate, and complied with the requeſt of ſeveral for the like purpoſe, inſomuch that ſome ſhort time before his death he granted an act of grace. He alſo gave the ſame inſtance of his moderation and wiſdom after the victory of Thapſus, which had redounded ſo much to his honour after the battle of Pharſalia, in burning all Metellus Scipio's papers, which fell into his hands.

Nicol. Damaſc. de inſtit. Auguſti. Suet. Dio.

De B. Afr. Cæſar left Utica the 13th of June, having put an end to a war of ſuch importance, and attended with ſo much difficulty, in little more than five months. He took his route by Sardinia, from whence he ſent a part of his fleet and of his legions into Spain, under the command of C. Didius, with orders to obſerve young Pompey's motions, and to put a ſtop to his progreſs. As for himſelf, after having made ſome ſtay in that iſland, he put to ſea again: but in his paſſage meeting with foul weather, he was not able to get to Rome until about the end of July.

SECT. II.

Flattering decrees of the Senate. Cæſar having reſolved to make a mild uſe of the ſupreme power, ſolemnly engages himſelf to it in his ſpeech to the Senate. Reflections on Cæſar's plan of conduct. He celebrates four triumphs; for the victories gained over the Gauls, in Alexandria and Egypt, over Pharnaces, and over Juba. Satirical reflections on Cæſar, of an uncommon licence ſung by the ſoldiers during the triumph. Rewards beſtowed by Cæſar on his ſoldiers. His bounty to the people. Roman Knights fight as Gladiators. Cæſar engages Laberius to play a part in the Mimi of his own compoſition.

poſition. Laberius's ſmart repartee to Cicero. Temple of Venus Genetrix. Cæſar's forum. Amount of the ſums carried by Cæſar in his triumphs. Regulations made by Cæſar, for repairing the diminution in the number of citizens: againſt luxury: in favour of phyſicians, and profeſſors of the liberal arts. The Calendar reformed. Cæſar's conduct blameable, in what. He conſents to Marcellus's return. Cicero's oration on that occaſion. Unhappy death of Marcellus. The affair of Ligarius. Cicero pleads for him. Cæſar pardons him. Cicero's conſtrained leiſure. He employs it in the compoſition of ſeveral works. His concern, occaſioned by the preſent ſtate of affairs, abates. His political conduct towards Cæſar. He gains the affection of Cæſar's friends. Eulogium on Cato compoſed by Cicero. Cæſar's Anticatones. Cicero's exceſſive grief on account of the death of his daughter Tullia.

THE Senate had anticipated Cæſar's return by ſome decrees full of the moſt ſervile flattery, and by marks of honour, by ſo much the more exceſſive as they proceeded not from the heart, but were dictated by fear; their apprehenſions exaggerating every thing, the better to counterfeit zeal and affection. I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome of the moſt remarkable inſtances. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. Dio. l. XLIII.

It was decreed, that there ſhould be feaſts and rejoicings for forty days to celebrate the victory gained by Cæſar in Africa; that on the days of triumph his chariot ſhould be drawn by four white horſes, in the ſame manner as the chariots of Jupiter and of the Sun; and that on thoſe days, beſides the cuſtomary Lictors of his office, he ſhould be preceded by thoſe of his two antecedent Dictatorſhips, making together ſeventy-two Lictors. To theſe diſtinctions, which were merely honorary, the Senate added titles of more ſolid and real power: ſuch as the Dictatorſhip for ten years, and the office of Inſpector of Morals (a title ſubſtituted, I know not for what reaſon, in lieu of that of Cenſor) for three years. Nothing now remained

but

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. but to raiſe him above the degree of a mortal: and this was even attempted by decreeing him a ſtatue on a triumphal carr, which was to be placed in the Capitol oppoſite to Jupiter's, having the globe of the earth under his feet, with this inſcription, To CÆSAR THE DEMI-GOD.

Cæſar had too much penetration not to perceive from what principle this extraordinary earneſtneſs to confer honours on him, ſo contrary to the ancient conſtitution of government, proceeded. However, he was pleaſed with it, and accepted them. But as he was hitherto only indebted to his power for them; he was now deſirous to merit them. As he had now attained the height of his wiſhes, and ſaw his ambition gratified with Sovereignty, the plan he propoſed to follow was to make a mild and moderate uſe of a fortune, which was capable of no further addition; and was willing and deſirous that the Romans ſhould be happy, provided they were in ſubjection to him.

Full of theſe thoughts, he declared in his firſt ſpeech to the Senate after his return to Rome, the principles of clemency and generoſity by which he intended to govern; nor did he make any ſcruple to contract a ſolemn engagement, he had no other intention than to fulfil. He began by removing the apprehenſions every body was under, and which were but too well grounded, from the cruel examples ſhewn by all, who till then had been ſucceſsful in the civil wars. For his part, he proteſted, that power and victory were the motives which inclined him to humanity. "For," ſays he, "from whom ought "benefits to flow, but from him who has the means "of beſtowing? Who is leſs excuſable in committing "faults, than he whoſe power is unlimited? Who "ought to ſhow the moſt prudence and circumſpec-"tion in the uſe of the gifts of Providence, but he "who has received them in the greateſt abundance? "And whom does it moſt concern to make a prudent "diſpoſition of the eſtate he enjoys, but him who "has the richeſt poſſeſſions, and conſequently has

"moſt

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

" moſt to loſe? Think not that I ſhall follow the " ſteps of Sylla. My intentions are to be your chief, " not your maſter; to tranſact your affairs, not to " tyranniſe over you. When I can be uſeful to you, " I will be your Conſul and Dictator; but the inſtant " any one's property is to be invaded, I am no more " than a private perſon."

Such were Cæſar's ſentiments, which were without doubt laudable and generous, but more ſuitable to a lawful Sovereign, than to an Uſurper, than which he was no better. This was a reflection, I may venture to ſay, he never made. Nor does he ſeem ſenſible of the eſſential difference between his ſituation, and that of a Prince, whoſe birth-right, or a free and regular election, intitles him to obedience. He was in hopes to make amends for the violence with which he had wreſted the ſovereign power, by his perſonal mildneſs. But he was miſtaken, and this miſtake was the cauſe of his death. This evinces how much a tyrannical ambition ought to be deteſted, as it admits of no amendment; and that after having committed all kinds of crimes to attain an unjuſt power, it is neceſſary, even in the height of that power, to continue them, or periſh *.

Cæſar renewed to the people the ſame proteſtations of mildneſs and clemency he had made to the Senate: and the effects being found conformable to his declaration, the citizens by degrees recovered from the conſternation and fright they had at firſt been ſeized with. But the hatred the nobility bore the oppreſſor of liberty, was an evil to which there was no remedy.

Hitherto Cæſar had been totally engaged in the wars, and thoſe wars had ſo cloſely ſucceeded each other, that he had not had the leaſt leiſure for triumph. But as he had now ſome time to diſpoſe of, he em

Suet. Cæſ. c. 37. Vell. II. 56. Flor. IV. 2. Dio.

* Sylla, whoſe example ſeems to contradict this reflection, ſupported himſelf by force as long as he kept the Dictatorſhip; and though, after abdicating it, he continued in perfect tranquillity during the ſhort remaining part of his life, this was owing to ſome extraordinary circumſtances, peculiar to him, as I have obſerved in its proper place.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. ployed it in the celebration of four triumphs in the courſe of one month, but at proper intervals. His firſt triumph was over the Gauls, the next over Alexandria and Egypt, the third over Pharnaces and Pontus, and in the fourth and laſt place over King Juba.

In theſe triumphs Cæſar ſhewed all the magnificence his taſte naturally led him to, and as much as could be ſupported by the riches of the empire, of which he then had the diſpoſal. He was particularly careful in varying the ornaments *, whoſe materials for each triumph were different. For the firſt he made uſe of citron-wood, for the ſecond he employed tortoiſe-ſhell, for the third the acanthus †, and for the fourth ivory.

That over the Gauls was without diſpute the moſt ſplendid and ſuperb. There were to be ſeen the Rhine, the Rhone, and the captive Ocean repreſented in gold. A multitude of priſoners preceded the chariot; and among others, or rather above the others, was to be diſtinguiſhed Vercingetorix, that unfortunate chief of confederate Gaul; who had been reſerved upwards of ſix years to grace his Conqueror's triumph, and was, after the ceremony, flung into a dungeon, and put to death: an unhappy period to the life of a man, whoſe only crime was having attempted to reſcue his country's liberty. It would have done more honour to Cæſar, in my opinion, if he had ſhewn the like generoſity to this brave Gaul as he had done to ſo many vanquiſhed Romans, whoſe reſentment to him was perhaps more violent, and certainly more formidable. But the Gauls were then looked upon by the Romans on the footing of Barbarians, and treated as ſuch.

* Velleïus has made uſe of the word Apparatus, which was very intelligible to the Romans, but is not ſo to us. By this word probably is meant the frames of the pictures, and the baſes which ſupported the images, and other ſuch like pageants.

† By this is certainly meant the Acanthus Spinoſus, which chiefly grows in Libya and Egypt.

The gaiety of the feſtival was interrupted by an accident. For during the proceſſion the axle-tree of the triumphal chariot broke, and the General had like to have fallen to the ground. So that it was night before the chariot could be mended, and Cæſar aſcended the Capitol by the light of ſeveral luſtres, carried by forty elephants, regularly ranged on the right and left. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

Dio reports that he aſcended the Capitol on his knees. It muſt then be in conformity to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, which Cæſar thought could not be diſpenſed with; not even though he had almoſt been put on a par, by the extravagant honours ſhewn him, with the God to whom he paid ſuch low homage.

In the triumph occaſioned by the Alexandrian war, the conqueror gave the people a repreſentation of the river Nile, and of the tower of Pharos on fire. The deaths of Achillas and Pothinus were repreſented in two different pictures. And Arſinoë, Cleopatra's ſiſter, was there led captive, and afterwards ſet at liberty.

The triumph over Pharnaces had nothing more remarkable than the famous inſcription, *veni, vidi, vici.* "I came, ſaw, and conquered." This was engraved in capitals on a tablet, which was carried with great pomp.

Laſtly, in the fourth triumph wherein Cæſar celebrated his victory over King Juba, the ſon of that Prince, of the ſame name with his father, and at that time a child, underwent the ſame rigorous law the Romans impoſed on all their priſoners. He appeared on that occaſion as a captive. But Plutarch has judged his captivity fortunate to him, as it procured him an excellent education, and gave him an opportunity of inſtructing himſelf in the Greek and Latin literature. From theſe helps he made ſo great an improvement in his underſtanding and knowledge, as to become a celebrated author; beſides this further advantage of attaining the moſt mild and humane deportment. He afterwards had part of his paternal poſſeſ- Plut. Cæſ.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. poſſeſſions reſtored to him, and was made King o Mauritania. But Pliny was of opinion that the repu- tation † of his learning was to him more honourabl than his crown.

It is obſervable that no Roman is mentioned in th title of any of theſe triumphs. Cæſar imitated th example of moderation preſcribed him by Sylla on like occaſion, and was unwilling to inſult the misfo tunes of his fellow-citizens. However, if credit ma be given to Appian, Cæſar's caution extended onl to the terms, and not to the things themſelves. Th hiſtorian relates, that he cauſed to be carried in h triumph repreſentations of all the memorable even of the civil war; and portraits of all the Romans diſtinction who had there periſhed, Pompey only e cepted: there was to be ſeen Metellus Scipio fallin on his own ſword, Cato tearing out his bowels, an ſo of the reſt. If this account may be credited, am ſurprized that Appian ſhould be the only writ who has preſerved ſo deteſtable a circumſtance, an particularly, that Cicero, who mentions the ſpectato concern, when they ſaw the city of Marſeilles carri in triumph, has omitted theſe other circumſtance which muſt have been infinitely more affecting to t Romans. I leave it to the Reader's judgment, wh ther my doubts are well founded. But the author of Appian alone is not ſufficient to determine me, a fact of this nature.

Appian. Civ. II.

Cic. Phil. VIII. 18.

Cæſar, even at this high point of glory, could n be exempt from the cynical licence of his ſoldiers. was a long eſtabliſhed cuſtom, as has been obſerv elſewhere, on theſe feſtivals, where joy produced centiouſneſs, for the troops during the proceſſion ſing ſome coarſe couplets, which ſometimes contain the triumpher's praiſes, but were oftener ſo many ſ tires on him. Cæſar's ſoldiers puſhed this liberty a very great exceſs; reflecting with very great ſeveri

Suet. Cæſ. 49, 51.

* Studiorum claritate memorabilior etiam, quàm regno. Pl V. 1.

on their General's morals, which gave but too fair an opening. I muſt be diſpenſed citing their very words, and ſhall only obſerve, that they revived the ſuſpicions he had formerly lain under during his ſtay at the court of Nicomedes. Suſpicions which gave Cæſar great offence, but which he could never get clear of, notwithſtanding his oath to the contrary. Of ſuch importance is it to reputation to have prudently ſpent one's youth, whoſe indiſcretions the world ſeldom forgets or forgives. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

One muſt not be ſurpriſed after this, that not ſatisfied with the rewards Cæſar beſtowed on them, though in themſelves abundant, they reproached him with having ſubſiſted them on herbage, when they lay near Dyrrachium. But it is very extraordinary that they ſhould reflect on him for unjuſtly uſurping and maintaining a tyrannical command. "If you are "the honeſt man you pretend," ſaid they all in general, "you ought to be puniſhed: but if you con- "tinue to be unjuſt, you may alſo continue in power." Which was plainly telling him, that he could not eſcape condemnation, if he left the people the uncontrouled exertion of their rights, and that he had no other method of enjoying ſovereignty than by oppreſſing his fellow-citizens. Plin. XIX. 8. Dio.

Notwithſtanding Cæſar's ſoldiers thought the rewards beſtowed on them too moderate, yet they were actually very exorbitant. He gave to each veteran twenty thouſand ſeſterces, making about one hundred and ſixty pounds of our money; he doubled the ſum to every Centurion, and gave the quadruple to every Tribune and Horſeman: and all this excluſive of the lands and ſettlements he beſtowed on them. The concluſion is, that if they were not ſatisfied, it is from the impoſſibility of contenting troops, who are ſenſible that their General employs them for his own intereſt, and not for the public utility. Frein. ſhem. CXV. 14.

The military were not the only perſons who felt the effects of Cæſar's liberality. He gave to each citizen of the lower claſs, ten buſhels of corn, ten

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

pound of oil, and 400 ſeſterces in money, (about three guineas.) The number of thoſe who received this bounty amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand. Beſides theſe diſtributions, there was a treat given to the whole people: twenty-two thouſand tables were ſet out in the ſtreets, and ſerved with profuſion. To theſe expences, Cæſar further added that of public ſpectacles of all ſorts, combats of gladiators and wreſtlers, repreſentations of ſea-fights in a lake made on purpoſe near the city, plays, courſes in the Circus, tournaments, and hunting of deer and elephants.

In the combats of gladiators given by Cæſar on this occaſion, an indignity was firſt practiſed, if I am not miſtaken, which afterwards became frequent under the Emperors. There were Roman Knights hardy enough to enter the liſts, and, at the hazard of their lives, proſtitute their honour, and laviſh their blood for the vanity of pleaſing the multitude. There was alſo one Q. Calpenus *, who had been a Senator, who condeſcended to the like indignity; but when Fulvius, who was actually Senator, offered to engage, Cæſar would not ſuffer it.

Macrob. Sat. II. 7.

Among other theatrical pieces, there were ſome farces played, called by the Greeks and Romans Mimi. Laberius, a Roman Knight, happened to excel in this kind of compoſition. Cæſar, not ſatisfied with his furniſhing him pieces for his entertainment, ſtill further preſumed on his complaiſance, and inſiſted that he himſelf ſhould play a part in them. The poet conſented, but with regret, as appears by his prologue, which Macrobius has preſerved, where he heavily complains, that he, who has quitted his houſe as a Roman Knight, ſhould be obliged to return to it as a comedian.

* The dignity of Senator was for life, unleſs they were degraded by the Cenſors, on account of ſome irregularity, or from a voluntary abdication. Without doubt this Calpenus was under one of the two circumſtances.

How

However, he took care to make himſelf ſome reparation for this violence, by ſome lines he inſerted in his Mimi, which had an obvious alluſion to the preſent poſture of affairs. Such as introducing a perſon on the ſtage, who cried out, "Romans, we "are loſing our liberty." There was alſo another line, which was particularly taken notice of, ſignifying, "He who * is feared by many, has many to "fear." The whole audience made the application of this maxim to Cæſar, by turning their eyes upon him. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

The Dictator was offended at this the poet's licenſe: and this diſguſt biaſſed his judgment in awarding the prize to Pub. Syrus, Labierus's competitor. However, he took care to reward him for having degraded himſelf at his inſtigation, by preſenting him on the ſpot with a golden ring, as it were to reinſtate him in his knighthood, and by giving him a further gratuity of five hundred thouſand ſeſterces. 3906 l.

When Laberius had played his part, he went to take his ſeat among the Roman Knights; who thinking it a double diſhonour to them, that one of their order ſhould be compelled to appear on the ſtage, and after having there played, ſhould return to his ſeat among them, placed themſelves in ſuch a manner that there was no room left for him. Laberius, in order to come at the Knights, was obliged to paſs over the Senators benches. Cicero, as he came by him, ſeeing him ſomewhat diſconcerted, ſaid to him: "I will make you room among us, if I were not already too much crowded." This he ſaid not only to ridicule Laberius, but at the ſame time to reflect on the number of new Senators created by Cæſar, without any choice, or regard to rules, or decency. The Poet, who was thoroughly piqued, made Cicero a very ſmart anſwer: "You ſurprize me," ſays he, "for you were wont to ſit on two ſeats at once." This was a proverbial expreſſion, ſignifying among Sen. Cont. VII. 3. Macrob. Sat. II. 3.

* Neceſſe eſt multos timeat, quem multi timent.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. the Romans, what we mean by a Trimmer, or one who floats between two parties. So that Laberius reflected on Cicero, becauſe, by keeping plauſibly fair with both Cæſar and Pompey, he had been a ſtaunch friend to neither.

All theſe entertainments given by Cæſar, were not merely on account of his triumphs. He had other pretenees; ſuch as the dedication of a temple erected at his charge in honour of Venus Genetrix, that is to ſay, to Venus, worſhipped as the head of the Julian Family; the opening of a new Forum, another monument of his magnificence; laſtly, the funeral honours due to the memory of his daughter, who died ſeveral years before, whilſt he was in Gaul.

Forum Julium. Freinſhem. CXV. 19.

One cannot help being in ſome meaſure aſtoniſhed at this immenſe profuſion of all kinds. And I doubt whether the ſums carried by Cæſar in triumph, and the fruits of his victories, were ſufficient, although according to Appian, they amounted to ſixty-five thouſand talents, that is, to upwards of twelve millions of our money. And in this ſum are not included two thouſand eight hundred twenty-two crowns of gold weighing together twenty thouſand four hundred and fourteen Roman pounds.

Appian. l. II.

Theſe Feſtivals were ſucceeded by affairs of great importance. Cæſar, whoſe genius was univerſal, and who was not leſs adapted to make a prudent Legiſlator, than a triumphant Conqueror, reformed diverſe abuſes, and endeavoured to find remedies to ſuch evils as required the moſt immediate redreſs.

The number of citizens was conſiderably diminiſhed ſince the commencement of the civil war. The Dictator, who perfectly well knew that the ſtrength of a ſtate conſiſts in the number of its people, made ſeveral regulations towards repairing the loſs, and for encouraging the increaſe of the Romans. He promiſed rewards to ſuch married men as ſhould get a number of children: and forbad any citizen above twenty, under forty years of age, to be abſent from Italy more than three years, unleſs they ſerved in the troops

Freinſhem. CXV. 27. 31.

By the ſame order no Senator's ſon could travel out of Italy, except in company of ſome Magiſtrate. Laſtly, as a multiplicity of ſlaves occaſioned the lower claſs of people's being out of employment, who being thereby reduced to miſery, periſhed without having it in their power to marry and leave iſſue, the Dictator ordered that at leaſt one third of the Herdſmen ſhould be free-men. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

The extravagance of dreſs and the luxury of diet next claimed his attention. He limited the uſe of purple and jewels to particular perſons, and for certain days, and revived the ſumptuary laws, which he was particularly careful ſhould be carried into execution: inſomuch that he appointed Commiſſaries to inſpect the markets, to prevent the ſelling of any prohibited meats, whether fiſh or fleſh. And ſometimes on receiving intelligence of ſuch meats being bought, he ſent Lictors and ſoldiers into the houſes of private perſons, to ſeize the victuals as they were ſerving up to their tables.

For the honour of letters, I muſt not omit that Cæſar during the ſhort reſpite he enjoyed made it his application to encourage and reward them; by granting the freedom of the city, to all who were willing to ſettle at Rome and practiſe phyſic, and to all profeſſors of the liberal arts.

It was alſo at this time he effected the regulation of the Calendar, which ſtood in great need of it. I have more than once had occaſion to mention the irregularity of the Roman civil year in the time we are now treating of. The regulation eſtabliſhed by Numa, though far from being perfect, might yet have ſerved. But the Pontiffs, who by their office were to keep up this regulation, whether through ignorance, or through negligence, or perhaps ſometimes to pay their court to people in power, or to oblige the monied men, had thrown every thing into confuſion: So that the year, whoſe events I am now giving an account of, and which was the laſt of this confuſion and diſorder, conſiſted of 445 days. Beſides the intercalary

A.R. 706. Ant. C. 46. lary month of 23 days, there was a neceſſity of adding 67 ſupernumerary days of the preceding years, to make the firſt of January in the enſuing year fall properly. The care of the Calendar belonged to Cæſar as High Pontiff; who, to aſſiſt him in its reformation, made uſe of Soſigenes, an Aſtronomer of Alexandria. Becauſe the Greeks, through all antiquity, were the ſole profeſſors of Metaphyſics, and the Romans had never had any inſight into thoſe matters but from the learned of that nation. It is needleſs to obſerve, that the Calendar, as regulated by Cæſar, is the ſame we now make uſe of, except that in order to bring it to its utmoſt perfection, it has been expedient to introduce ſome ſmall alterations, which were made by the authority and order of Pope Gregory XIII.

The regulation of the Calendar neceſſarily made ſome confuſion in the ancient order of days, both as to ſacred and civil affairs; that is, as well with regard to the feſtivals, as in relation to the convening the Senate or people, the audiences of the Tribunes, and ſuch like. Cæſar, who ever paid regard to cuſtoms eſtabliſhed by antiquity, employed a celebrated Regiſter, named Flavius, to adjuſt as near as poſſible, the new plan to the ancient ſyſtem.

Freinſhem. CXV. 34, 35. All theſe different applications certainly redounded to the honour of a perſon who was the chief of an empire. But Cæſar took ſome other ſteps which betrayed the leader of a party. The neceſſity of making creatures, or of ſecuring ſuch as he had already made, compelled him in many things to break through all rule. Such as increaſing the number of offices, that he might have more places to give away: the re-inſtating, in the free enjoyment of their liberties, perſons, who had either been ſtigmatiſed by the Cenſors, or, what was ſtill worſe, condemned by ſolemn proceſs. But he was principally reflected on for having introduced into the Senate a great number of unworthy members, who by the meanneſs of their birth and of their preceding employments, and even ſome

by the crimes with which they were branded, diſhoA. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. noured that auguſt aſſembly. Cæſar always made it a rule with him to reward ſuch as had been of ſervice to him. He explained * himſelf on this head without any reſerve, and ſaid, that if robbers and aſſaſſins had been aſſiſting to him in the ſupport of his right, or in the raiſing of his fortune, he thought himſelf obliged not to be ungrateful to them. Such principles may be carried very great lengths: and the ſubverſion of all laws, decency, and regard to morality, muſt be the neceſſary conſequence.

Cæſar even conferred the dignity of Senator on aliens, and, as Suetonius expreſſes it, on Gauls that were demi-barbarians. This was the ſubject of a joke, which that hiſtorian has thought it worth his while to relate. The following advertiſements were ſtuck up in different parts of the city: "† This is to give no"tice, that all perſons are deſired not to ſhew any of "the new Senators the way to the Senate-houſe." Cæſar's facility in admitting all ſorts of people into the Senate, increaſed the Senators to nine hundred, that is, a third more than their limited number. And Macrob. Sat. II. 3. this gave riſe to a joke of Cicero, who being applied to by one of his friends for his intereſt to get his ſon-in-law made a Senator in one of the municipal towns: "At Rome, ſays our Orator, the thing "would be eaſy. At Pompeii (which was a little "town in Campania) you will find it more diffi"cult."

Cleopatra and her brother's voyage to Rome, this ſame year 706, and which I have already mentioned, occaſioned much talk, and did Cæſar great diſſervice.

But his clemency to Marcellus redounded greatly to his honour. It will not be amiſs to recollect what I have ſaid elſewhere of this man, who was no leſs

* Profeſſus eſt palam, ſi graſſatorum & ſicariorum ope in tuenda ſua dignitate uſus eſſet, talibus quoque ſe parem gratiam telaturum. SUET. Cæſ. n. 71.

† Bonum factum. Ne quis Senatori novo Curiam monſtrare velit. SUET. Cæſ. n. 80.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. eminent on account of his birth, than for the rank he held in the Republic; whoſe conduct and courage were equally conſpicuous, and whoſe ſoul was incapable of meanneſs or fear. He had during his Conſulſhip oppoſed Cæſar, and openly declared his intention to ruin him. After the battle of Pharſalia, he retired, as I have already related, to Mitylenæ, where he ſeemed reſolved to paſs quietly the remainder of his days, and to make the ſtudy of books and philoſophy his whole employment. But the repeated inſtances of his brother C. Marcellus, and Cicero's earneſt letters ſhook his reſolution, and obliged him at laſt to conſent, that application ſhould be made to the Conqueror, for liberty for him to return to Rome.

Cic. ad Fam. IV.

Accordingly one day when the Senate was aſſembled, and the Dictator had taken his ſeat, Piſo, Cæſar's father-in-law, broke the affair, and firſt mentioned Marcellus's return. Immediately the brother of this illuſtrious exile flung himſelf at Cæſar's feet; and the whole Senate at the ſame time riſing from their ſeats ſeconded his requeſt, and entreated their Chief to reſtore them one of their moſt diſtinguiſhed and moſt valuable members. Cæſar at firſt aſſumed a ſeverity, and complained of the reſentment and animoſity Marcellus had ever ſhown to him. But when nothing was expected but a denial, and ſucceſs began to be deſpaired of, he added, that whatever reaſons he might have to be perſonally diſſatisfied with the man whoſe repeal they ſued for, he could not oppoſe the unanimous deſire of the Senate.

This was matter of great joy to Cicero. That * day ſeemed to him the firſt happy day for the Republic ſince the commencement of the civil wars: and in the fit of Enthuſiaſm which was then upon him, he delivered that excellent oration, ſo well known and ſo univerſally admired; in which, after celebrating all Cæſar's exploits, he prefers his clemency and generoſity to the glory of all his triumphs.

* Ita mihi pulcher hic dies viſus eſt, ut ſpeciem aliquam viderer videre quaſi reviviſcentis Reipublicæ. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 4.

This

This ſpeech muſt be ſtill the more agreeable to Cæſar, as till then Cicero had kept an obſtinate ſullen ſilence, which might have been eaſily interpreted a diſapprobation of all the then meaſures. There were but too good grounds for this ſuſpicion: and our Orator, who thought it was for his intereſt to remove ſuch an opinion, was not ſparing in the commendations he beſtowed on a perſon, whoſe ſecret reſentment he had cauſe to apprehend. He had laid it down for a maxim, that a prudent man ought to comply with the times; and in the Oration I am now ſpeaking of, that principle carried him great lengths; for he therein profeſſes a perſonal affection for Cæſar, and a zeal for the preſervation of his days, and offers * to interpoſe between him and any attempts that might be made to his prejudice: a language very different from the real ſentiments of his heart, and abſolutely contradicted by the exceſſive joy he inſtanced at the unhappy death of the oppreſſor of his country. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 46.

However, Marcellus did not reap the benefit of Cæſar's kindneſs: for being on his return to Rome, he ſtopt at Athens, and was there aſſaſſinated by a wretch who had been a long time in his ſervice, and who afterwards killed himſelf. What could induce him to this act, has never been diſcovered. But Cicero has taken care to clear Cæſar from any imputations that might be thrown on him. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 12. Cic. ad Attic. XIII. 19.

Cæſar did yet another act of clemency, which has been the more taken notice of, on account of the part Cicero took in it. It was in relation to Q. Ligarius, who after the battle of Thapſus had obtained a pardon for his life, but on condition of remaining in exile. His two brothers, who had taken Cæſar's party, ſeeing how eaſily he had been prevailed on to forgive Marcellus, conceived hopes to obtain in like manner the repeal of their brother's ſentence. Accordingly

* Omnes tibi, ut pro aliis etiam loquar quod de me ipſo ſentio, quoniam ſubeſſe aliquid putas quod cavendum ſit, non modò excubias & cuſtodias, ſed etiam laterum noſtrorum oppoſitus & corporum pollicemur. Cic. pro Marc. n. 32.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. cordingly they made application to the Dictator, and were ſeconded by Cicero, who was their friend. This is the account he ſends Ligarius of the audience Cæſar gave him on this occaſion. "In the morning I waited on Cæſar, at the inſtance of your brothers; and after * having diſpenſed with all the trouble and indignities to which one muſt be expoſed to get at him, I was at length introduced. Your brothers and other relations flung themſelves at his feet: and I addreſſed him in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion. Cæſar's anſwer was mild, but not deciſive. But his very looks declared, as much as his words, that he is favourably diſpoſed, and that you may hope for the beſt."

Cic. pro Lig. Such was the ſituation of this affair, when Tubero lodged a formal accuſation againſt Ligarius. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the charge of this accuſation. Tubero accuſes Ligarius of having carried arms againſt Cæſar: and it was not only his own caſe, but he was exaſperated againſt Ligarius for no other reaſon, than becauſe he pretended he had three years before prevented his going into Africa, whither the Senate had deputed him to carry on the war againſt Cæſar. So that Ligarius's affair now appeared in a different light: from being only a buſineſs of ſupplication and entreaty, it now became a matter of law; and from Cæſar's cloſet was now removed to the Forum, and ſubmitted to the determination of the bench. Cæſar, however, reſerved to himſelf the right of deciding the affair, but in quality of Judge: and Cicero, who at firſt had only appeared on this occaſion as ſolliciting for his friend, now became his advocate.

Cicero's ſpeech at the trial is indiſputably one of the fineſt monuments of the ſkill and inſinuating addreſs of that great Orator. He knew that Cæſar piqued himſelf on no virtue more than his clemency to

* Quum omnem adeundi & conveniendi illius indignitatem & moleſtiam pertuliſſem. Cic. ad Fam. VI. 14.

his

his enemies. It was there he made his attack. Not that he neglected making a proper uſe of the circumſtances which appeared moſt in Ligarius's favour, but he principally had recourſe to Cæſar's generoſity. "I have * pleaded, ſaid he to Cæſar, many cauſes, and ſome before you. But was never heard to make uſe of theſe expreſſions: 'Forgive him, Gentlemen, he has committed a fault: it was through inadvertency: he will never do ſo again.' This is a language to be uſed to a father. But we ſay to the judges: 'He is not guilty, he never ſo much as thought on it: the evidence is ſuborned, and the accuſation falſe.' Do you, Cæſar, take upon you to be judge in this affair? Do you enquire in what camp he has ſerved? To this I make no anſwer. Nor ſhall I dwell on ſeveral points which, perhaps, would have ſome weight with a judge: ſuch as that he quitted Rome before the war broke out; that he was left in Africa while the peace yet ſubſiſted; that he was involved in a war when he leaſt expected it; that even then, ſo far from ſhewing any animoſity, his whole heart and inclinations were for you. This is the uſual manner of addreſſing a judge. But to you I apply as to a father: 'I am to blame, I have acted inconſiderately, I rely on your goodneſs, and entreat your forgiveneſs. Had no body found favour before you, it would be preſumption in me to ſue for it; but as there are many inſtances of your ge-

A R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

* Cauſas, Cæſar, egi multas, & quidem tecum: certè nunquam hoc modo, "Ignoſcite judices: erravit: lapſus eſt: non putavit: ſi unquam poſthac." Ad parentem ſic agi ſolet. Ad judices, "Non fecit, non cogitavit: falſi teſtes, fictum crimen." Dic te, Cæſar, de facto Ligarii judicem eſſe: quibus in præſidiis fuerit, quære. Tacco. Ne hæc quidem colligo, quæ fortaſſe valerent etiam apud judicem. Legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppreſſus, in eo ipſo non acerbus, totus animo & ſtudio tuus. Ad judicem ſic agi ſolet. Sed ego ad parentem loquor: "Erravi, temere feci, pœnitet: ad clementiam tuam confugio: delicti veniam peto: ut ignoſcas, oro. Si nemo impetravit, arroganter: ſi plurimi, tu idem fer opem, qui ſpem dediſti." An ſperandi Ligario cauſa non ſit, cuum mihi apud te ſit locus etiam pro altero deprecandi? Cic. pro Lig. 30, 31.

ſ neroſity,

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. neroſity, let not thoſe hopes, to which you yourſelf have given birth, be fruſtrated.' And has not Ligarius all the reaſon in the world to hope for pardon, when I myſelf, through your indulgence, have the liberty of entreating for another?"

The remarkable ſtroke of eloquence which follows what I have juſt now quoted, is univerſally known and admired, wherein Cicero, with infinite art, puts Cæſar in mind of the ſervices done him by one of Ligarius's brothers. "You muſt remember, ſays he to him, you * who can forget nothing but injuries, you muſt certainly remember what proof T. Ligarius gave, when he was Queſtor, of his attachment and zeal for your intereſt." This was attacking Cæſar by his blind ſide, if I may uſe ſuch an expreſſion, in ſpeaking of a generous inclination to pardon.

Plut. Cic. Nor indeed could he reſiſt the ſoft perſuaſion which flowed from the Orator's lips. He came, if we may believe Plutarch, with a firm reſolution to continue inflexible; becauſe he looked upon Ligarius as an irreconcileable enemy. And therein he was not miſtaken, for this very Ligarius ſhortly after entered into the conſpiracy againſt him. So that it was mere curioſity which had drawn Cæſar to the bench; as he had not heard Cicero plead for ſeveral years. But he was not his own maſter. He was ſeveral times ſeen to change colour: whatever paſſions the Orator had a mind to inſpire him with, were ſucceſſively expreſſed in his countenance; and when towards the concluſion Cicero deſcribed the dangers of the battle of Pharſalia, Cæſar ſhuddered and trembled from head to foot, and let fall the minutes of the trial out of his hand. In ſhort, Ligarius was pardoned, and had leave to return to Rome.

This event may, if I judge right, be conſidered as a maſter-piece of eloquence. It is no ſuch difficult taſk to influence a mob, nor does it require any extraordinary extent of genius. But by mere dint of

* Qui obliviſci nihil ſoles, niſi injurias. n. 36.

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perſuaſion, to ſoften and change the paſſions of a man like Cæſar, is what Cicero alone was capable of. A. R. 706 Ant. C. 46.

The two affairs of Marcellus and Ligarius were the only public acts which that year employed Cicero's talents. His other occupations were in compoſing different tracts in philoſophy and rhetoric. Since his return to Rome, he had had no other conſolation than literature; being thoroughly diſſatisfied with whatever he ſaw, or heard. Beſides the public events, which touched him ſenſibly, his own private ſituation was none of the moſt agreeable. By the change of government he had loſt that eclat, that conſideration, that rank and authority attendant on one of the Chiefs of the Roman Senate. He had very little influence with the Regent, who, though he ſometimes ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed on by intreaties, was not of a temper to allow any one to have much aſcendant over him. Not only Cicero, who had been an enemy of long ſtanding, but thoſe * who had always been in his intereſt, were not of Cæſar's council. He was himſelf his only Counſellor.

Cicero, in this ſtate of inactivity and leiſure, which only ſerved to give a greater ſcope to his afflictions, had never been able to † ſurvive, without the aſſiſtance of books. He ever took delight in them; but now they became not only his conſolation, but his phyſic, and it was to them he owed his health ‡. It was at this time he compoſed moſt of his philoſophical works. Beſides the relief an employment of this kind gave him, he reckoned he was acquitting himſelf as far as he was able of the duties of a citizen. Since we can § no longer ſerve the Republic in the Senate and in the Forum, at leaſt let us ſerve it

* Is utitur conſilio, ne ſuorum quidem, ſed ſuo. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 9.

† Vivas, inquis, in literis. An quidquam me aliud agere cenſes? aut poſſem vivere, niſi in litteris viverem. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 26.

‡ A ſtudiis antea delectationem modò petebamus, nunc verò etiam ſalutem. Cic. IX. 2.

§ Si minùs in Curia atque in Foro, at in litteris & libris, juvare Rempublicam. Id. ibid.

by

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. by compoſing ſuch works as may conduce to the formation of manners, and be inſtructive to our countrymen." This was a view worthy of Cicero.

Cic. Acad. I. 11. At length buſineſs, time, reflection, and neceſſity, got the better of his grief. After having bewailed * his country longer and with deeper concern than ever fond mother wept the loſs of her only child, he took comfort. He even aſſumed a kind of gaiety, and ſometimes in his letters makes merry with his ſituation.

One of his friends, a man of ſenſe and erudition, had reproached him for not reſiding at Rome. "You are not † then ſenſible," ſays Cicero, in anſwer to him, "of the difference between my preſent and former ſituation. I was then at the helm, and directed the ſteerage; at preſent I can ſcarce find place in the hold. Do you imagine that there will be fewer decrees of the Senate, becauſe I am at Naples? The Senate's decrees are drawn up in Cæſar's cloſet: and if my name happens to occur to his memory, it is ſubſcribed to the decree; and I often hear of a decree of the Senate, ſaid to be framed on my advice, being ſent into Armenia and Syria, before I know a ſingle word of the buſineſs it relates to. Do you think I am joking? I have received letters of thanks from very diſtant Kings, for my having conſented to their being acknowledged by the Senate Kings, friends and allies of the Empire, when I not only was ignorant of the honour conferred on them, but even that ſuch perſons ever exiſted."

* Patriam eluxi jam & graviùs & diutius quàm ulla mater unicum filium. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 20.

† Quid ſimile? . . . Sedebamus enim in puppi, & clavum tenebamus. Nunc autem vix eſt in ſentina locus. An minùs multa Senatuſconſulta futura putas, ſi ego ſim Neapoli? . . Senatuſconſulta ſcribuntur apud amatorem tuum, familiarem meum. Et quidem, quum in mentem venit, ponor ad ſcribendum: & antè audio Senatuſconſultum in Armeniam & Syriam eſſe perlatum, quod in meam ſententiam factum eſſe dicatur, quàm omnino mentionem ullam de eâ re eſſe factam. Atque hoc nolim me jocari putes. Nam mihi ſcito jam à regibus ultimis allatas eſſe litteras, quibus mihi gratias agunt, quòd ſe meâ ſententiâ reges appellaverim: quos non modò reges appellatos, ſed omnino natos neſciebam. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 15.

Cicero

Cicero judged perfectly right in his behaviour. He carefully avoided giving Cæſar any offence, whoſe goodneſs and moderation he highly extols even in his private letters. As for Cæſar's principal friends, Hirtius, Dolabella, Panſa, Oppius and Balbus, he was upon extreme good terms with them. Particularly the two firſt, who were men of ſenſe and merit, and ſtood fair to be ſhortly at the head of affairs, ſtudied eloquence under him: this formed a conſtant familiarity and friendſhip between them, equally advantageous and agreeable to Cicero.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 16, 17. & IV. 4.

He makes merry on this occaſion with his uſual ingenuity. "I imitate *," ſays he, "Dionyſius the tyrant, who, being drove from Syracuſe, opened a ſchool at Corinth. So I, to whoſe determination and judgment people were wont to ſubmit their own, now that power is loſt, as all depends on the will of one perſon, I keep a ſchool of Rhetoric."

His diſciples in † eloquence were his maſters in good cheer, as he has taken care to inform us, and frequently invited him to ſupper: on which occaſion he banters very agreeably: "One ‡ of the advantages, ſays he, ariſing from the leſſons I give our Conquerors, is, that I partake of their voluptuous tables. Since then I have my ſhare of more peacocks, than you have eat pigeons. So that thoſe encomiums are no longer applicable to me, which you were formerly pleaſed to beſtow on me: ſuch as, "How contented is that man with his diet! what an eaſy gueſt "he is!" I have entirely laid aſide my application to

* Intellexi probari tibi meum conſilium, quòd, ut Dionyſius tyrannus, quum Syracuſis expulſus eſſet, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuiſſe, ſic ego, ſublatis judiciis, amiſſo regno forenſi, ludum quaſi habere cœperim. Cic. ad Fam. IX. 18.

† Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi diſcipulos habeo, cœnandi magiſtros. Id. ibid. 16.

‡ Extremum illud eſt, quod tu neſcio an primum putes: plures jam pavones confeci, quàm tu pullos columbinos... Illa mea, quæ ſolebas antea laudare, o hominem facilem! o hoſpitem non gravem! abierunt. Nam omnem noſtram de Republica curam, cogitationem de dicenda in Senatu ſententia, commentationem cauſarum, abjecimus. In Epicuri nos adverſarii noſtri caſtra conjecimus. Id. ibid. 18, 20.

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A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

public affairs, and my concern for my fellow-citizens. I am no longer anxious to prepare a ſpeech for the Senate, nor employed in ſtudying cauſes. I have deſerted that ſeverity of morals I formerly affected, and am come over to Epicurus's camp, with whom I formerly waged war." This whole paſſage is ſo much the more witty, as the perſon to whom Cicero writes was an Epicurean.

Cæſar's Anticatones. Cic. ad Att. xii. 4

Cicero's friendſhip and familiarity with the Conquerors, and his neceſſary dependance on Cæſar, were not ſufficient motives to diſſuade him from compoſing about this time his famous panegyric on Cato. Not but that he was ſenſible of the difficulty of ſuch an undertaking in his preſent ſituation. However, he went reſolutely through it: and if we may gueſs at the work by the kind of plan he has given us of it in one of his letters to Atticus, he not only generally extolled his hero's fortitude and conſtancy, but he cut to the quick, and celebrated him for having long foreſeen the evils the Republic then felt, for his endeavours to avert them, and for having preferred death rather than be a living witneſs of the enſuing calamities.

Without doubt a work of this kind could not be very pleaſing to Cæſar. However, he ſhewed no marks of his diſpleaſure: but contented himſelf with anſwering it by two tracts, which he intitled (as I have already ſaid) "Anticatones," oppoſing, according to the expreſſion * of Cremutius Cordus, in Tacitus, pleading to pleading.

Plut. Cæſ.

In theſe two pieces Cæſar by no means ſpared Cato. But Cicero was therein honourably treated, and compared to Pericles and Theramenes, two of the moſt illuſtrious perſons that ever appeared in the Athenian Republic, great Orators and excellent Stateſmen.

Cicero's work ſtill further deſerved Cæſar's commendations on account of its ſtile and eloquence; and

* M. Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem cœlo æquavit, quid aliud Dictator Cæſar, quàm reſcriptâ oratione velut apud judices reſpondit. Tac. Ann. IV. 34.

as Brutus has alſo compoſed a panegyric on Cato, A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. Cæſar, upon comparing theſe two pieces, ſaid in a letter to one of his friends, that having * ſeveral times read over Cicero's treatiſe, he thought he had acquired a greater richneſs and more variety of expreſſion: but in reading Brutus's, his own vanity was flattered, and he thought he himſelf was eloquent.

The little I have ſaid of Cicero will, I imagine, ſuffice to ſhew in what manner he employed himſelf from his obtaining his pardon to the time of Cæſar's death. If in the progreſs of this work any thing further ſhould occur worthy of note, I ſhall take care to make a proper uſe of it. I ſhall only previouſly take notice, that the death of his favourite daughter Tullia, which happened the following year, flung him into the deepeſt affliction; which he carried to an exceſs, ſcarce becoming ſo great a genius. Doubtleſs ſuch misfortunes are difficult to be borne, and none but ſouls incapable of humanity can be inſenſible on the like occaſions. But a ſavage melancholy and avoiding all ſociety, but more particularly the ridiculous deſign of deifying his daughter and erecting a temple to her, may perhaps be excuſed in a common man, but are unpardonable in Cicero. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 5, 6. ad Att. xii.

* Legi epiſtolam: multa de meo Catone, quo ſæpiſſime legendo ſe dicit copioſiorem factum: Bruti Catone lecto, ſe ſibi viſum diſertum. Cic. ad Att. XIII 46.

THE ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK THE FORTY-SEVENTH.

CÆSAR's war in Spain againſt Pompey's children. The conſpiracy againſt Cæſar. His death. Anthony's artful conduct to make an advantage of this death. A. R. 707, 708.

SECT. I.

The troubles in Spain prove favourable to young Pompey. Cæſar comes into Spain. He compoſes a ſmall poem during the voyage. Obliges Pompey to raiſe the ſiege of Ulia. Beſieges and takes Ategua. Reciprocal cruelties. Battle of Munda. Death of Cn. Pompeius. Sextus Pompeius ſaves himſelf among the mountains of Celtiberia. Total reduction of Bætica. Voluntary death of Scapula. Cæſar's diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments in Spain. Young Octavius is ſerviceable to ſeveral with his uncle. Cæſar takes all occaſions to ſhew him in public. Cæſar's triumph, and the citizens diſcontent on that account. Cæſar ſpoilt by the Senate's flattery. He is declared Imperator, perpetual Dictator, &c. Extraordinary honours conferred on him. The privilege of conſtantly wearing a crown of laurel given him

him ſingular ſatisfaction. The reaſon Cæſar appoints Fabius and Trebonius Conſuls for the three remaining months. Caninius conſul for ſeventeen hours. Cicero's witticiſms on that occaſion. Cæſar arbitrarily diſpoſes of all offices and employments. New Patricians. Conſular ornaments granted to ten who had paſſed the Pretorian dignity. Cæſar appointed Conſul for the fifth time and Anthony his Collegue. Nomination of other Magiſtrates. Cæſar prepares to make war againſt the Parthians. He forms ſeveral ſchemes, all equally grand and magnificent.

DURING Cæſar's ſtay at Rome, young Pompey's forces had conſiderably increaſed in Spain, and began to give the Conqueror ſome uneaſineſs. Ch. Pompeius had a great many friends in that Province, who had for a long time been attached to his family: but perhaps they had never dared declare themſelves, had not the ill conduct of the perſon appointed by Cæſar to command in Ulterior Spain, furniſhed them with an opportunity. For the better comprehending of this, it will not be improper to enter into ſome preceding tranſactions. A.R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

When Cæſar in the firſt year of the civil war had ſubdued Spain, he appointed Q. Caſſius Longinus Governor of Luſitania and Bætica, who, having been Queſtor there under Pompey, was well acquainted with the country. Longinus wanted neither for enterprize nor courage: but his violence, paſſion, injuſtice and avarice during his Queſtorſhip had made him ſo deteſtable, that in a conſpiracy formed againſt him, he had once been actually wounded. Theſe reciprocal outrages created reciprocal reſentment. Hirt. de B. Alex. n. 48. & Dio. l. XLII.

Now therefore that he was inveſted with the ſupreme command, he endeavoured by ingratiating himſelf with the troops to gain their protection againſt the natives reſentment. He made very handſome preſents to the ſoldiers, and promiſed them much more, which to be ſure did not fail gaining their hearts.

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. But the greater progreſs he made by this means in their eſteem, the wider breach he made in diſcipline. Beſides, he had not a ſufficient fund to defray theſe acts of liberality. This put him upon all kinds of methods to ſupply that defect: he taxed heavily all that were contented to be taxed, extorted from others, and attainted the rich, whoſe money was the only means to bring them off: and under the ſpecious pretence of paying the troops, converted the greateſt part of the ſums he raiſed to his own uſe. In a word, his avarice was unlimited, and he refrained from no kind of exceſs, if any thing was to be got by it.

It is eaſy to be imagined that ſuch a conduct ſtrengthened and increaſed the averſion the people had for a long time conceived to him: to which the behaviour of the very perſons he employed to put theſe oppreſſions in force, not a little contributed. People of that ſort, who are void of probity and generoſity, are incapable of gratitude. Whatever advantages they made were aſcribed to their induſtry, and wherever they failed they laid the fault on their Commander.

This general averſion ſoon produced a ſecond conſpiracy againſt Longinus, which broke out juſt about the time that, purſuant to Cæſar's orders, he was ſetting out for Mauritania, in order to prevent Juba ſending any further ſuccours to Pompey, in Greece and to chaſtiſe him for thoſe which he had already ſent. The conſpirators were all of Italica, a city in Bætica founded by the elder Scipio, who when he left Spain had there lodged all his ſick and wounded ſoldiers. Longinus was ſet upon in open day, and received ſeveral wounds. But as none of them proved mortal, he had the ſatisfaction of taking his revenge on his enemies by the tortures and cruel deaths he put them to: not but that there were even then ſome whoſe money atoned for their crime. For as he was more covetous than cruel, whatever ſatisfaction

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might have in indulging his revenge, he was ſtill more affected by proſpect of gain. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

The conſpirators had engaged in their party thoſe two legions, which had formerly been under the command of Varro, Pompey's Lieutenant, and being afterwards compelled to ſubmit to Cæſar, had remained in that province under Longinus. Their hatred to him had revived their former affection to Pompey, and notwithſtanding they had juſt received in Spain an account of their chief's defeat at Pharſalia, they declared publickly for him, choſe themſelves a diſtinct Commander, who gave out that he intended to recover the province for Pompey; and the ſoldiers engraved Pompey's name on their bucklers. Three legions continued with Longinus, not through any regard to him, but on account of their attachment to Cæſar. The city of Cordova, in which a great many Romans were ſettled, formed a third party in this quarrel, and would not abandon Cæſar's intereſt, though at the ſame time they deteſted Longinus.

The conſequences of ſo violent a commotion might have proved fatal to the province, and been the means of Cæſar's loſing it, had not the Queſtor Marcellus Eſerninus brought about a coalition of parties, and united all Longinus's enemies under Cæſar's name and authority. Some ſhort time after Lepidus, who was Proconſul of Citerior Spain, came into Bætica with a conſiderable force. Marcellus readily conſented to his arbitration: and Longinus, after various ineffectual ſhifts and oppoſitions, thought proper to ſubmit, the rather, as at this time Trebonius came from Rome to take upon him the government of Ulterior Spain, in quality of Proconſul. Whereupon Longinus determined to quit the country, and having put to ſea, was loſt in a ſtorm near the mouth of the river Iber. By this means Spain recovered its former tranquillity.

But as popular fury does not eaſily ſubſide, this calm was but of ſhort duration. Beſides, the apprehenſion of Cæſar's reſentment gave no ſmall diſquiet

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. to many who were conſcious of having offended. They were therefore very well pleaſed when they heard that Metellus Scipio had aſſembled a powerful force in Africa; and immediately ſent a deputation to him to render their ſervice and demand his protection: in conſequence of which procedure, Pompey's eldeſt ſon ſet out for Spain: but being taken ill at the Balearian iſlands, the diſaffected never ſtaid for his arrival, but found means to perſuade the troops and a part of the province to revolt, and were more than a match for Trebonius, whoſe force was not ſufficient to oppoſe them. T. Scapula and Q. Aponius, two Roman Knights, took upon them the command of the legions till ſuch time as young Pompey could come and put himſelf at their head.

Dio. l. XLIII.

He had no ſooner recovered his health than he joined them: his name, his affability (which, notwithſtanding his natural auſterity, he at that time aſſumed) his ſucceſs at firſt ſetting out, and a proper application of ſome ſums of money, which had been raiſed by a military contribution on ſome of the oppoſite party; all theſe ſeveral circumſtances contributed to the eſtabliſhment of his party, and he ſoon found himſelf maſter of almoſt all Spain. In order to augment his troops, he did not heſitate to enliſt as many ſlaves as would voluntarily enter, whom he immediately preſented with their freedom: by this means he preſently aſſembled an army conſiſting of thirteen legions. After Metellus Scipio's defeat, Cn. Pompeius found means to collect ſome of his forces; which with the fleet brought him by his brother Sextus, in conjunction with Labienus and Varus, ſoon put him in a condition to oppoſe Cæſar's Lieutenants, either by land or ſea. Neither could Didius, whom I have already mentioned to have been detached by Cæſar with a part of his fleet, nor Q. Fabius and Q. Pædius, who commanded his legions, attempt any thing towards the reduction of an enemy who was now become too powerful for them: They, and as many of the inhabitants as yet preſerved their allegiance

ance to Cæſar, joined in their application to that General to come to their aſſiſtance; repreſenting to him that the danger was now become worthy his attention, and that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary to ſave the province. A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46.

Cæſar therefore ſet out from Rome about the end of the year of his third Dictatorſhip. I can find nowhere any account of what number of troops he took with him into Spain. However, he did not march with them; but according to his uſual cuſtom preceded them, and with ſo much diſpatch, that in twenty-ſeven days he came from Rome to Obulco in Bætica near Cordova. And as during the voyage he found himſelf diſengaged, in order to give himſelf ſome employment, he compoſed in the paſſage a little poem containing a deſcription of his voyage. That active, reſtleſs genius would have deſtroyed itſelf, if at the intervals of ſtate affairs, it had not had recourſe to letters. It was during theſe ſhort intervals that he wrote all his works which are now extant, and many others that have been loſt. Auct. de B. Hiſp. Appian. Civil. l. II. Dio. l. XLIV. Suet. Cæſ. 56.

Cæſar's friends were no leſs ſurprized at his diſpatch, than his enemies; eſpecially as they all on a ſudden ſaw him in the midſt of them, when they imagined he could not poſſibly be near them. Nevertheleſs as it was known in Spain that he intended ſhortly to ſet out, Pompey had taken the precaution to ſhut himſelf up in Bætica, and had given up the reſt of Spain, being convinced that his whole united force would be but barely ſufficient to defend him againſt an adverſary of ſuch importance. All Bætica was under Pompey's obedience, the city of Ulia excepted. Pompey undertook to reduce it by force, and was actually engaged in beſieging it, at the time Cæſar came into the country.

Though the high idea Pompey's ſon had of the Conqueror of his father made him judge it neceſſary to take ſome precautions, yet it was far from intimidating him. He did not think there could be ſuch a

A. R. 706. Ant. C. 46. difference between man and man, as that one might not hope for ſucceſs as well as another; ſo that, notwithſtanding Cæſar's arrival, he puſhed on the ſiege with courage and reſolution. But the ſucceſs did not anſwer his expectations: and he was ſoon made ſenſible of his enemy's ſuperiority. Cæſar found means to introduce ſome ſuccours into the town, and at the ſame time advanced towards Cordova, as if he intended to attack that capital of all the province. Sex. Pompeius, who commanded there, was under terrible apprehenſions, and applied to his brother for ſuccours, who now found himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Ulia.

Cæſar's ſcheme was to determine the affair by a deciſive battle. Accordingly he marched up to the enemy, as they were poſted under the walls of Cordova, and being obſtructed in his route by the river Bætis or Guadalquivir, as there was no poſſibility of fording it, he found means to paſs it, by the help of an extempore bridge, compoſed of baſkets filled with ſtones which he let down into the water, and covered over in the moſt expeditious manner he could. As ſoon as he came in ſight of young Pompey, he uſed all his endeavours to draw him to a general engagement: but the latter declined it, and contented himſelf with ſlight ſkirmiſhes, which were of no great ſervice to either ſide. Whereupon Cæſar, who was not uſed to trifle away his time at that rate, went and laid ſiege to Ategua, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs which Pompey then had.

C. Julius Cæsar IV.

A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. I ſhall not be very particular as to the operations of this ſiege, which are ill enough deſcribed by the author of the Memoirs of the Spaniſh War, whoſe ſtile is not only ſtiff and unpleaſant, but ſo barbarous, that he appears no better than a collector of Gazettes. I ſhall only obſerve, that the enterprize was attended with

with great difficulty, from the ſtrength of the place, the rigour of the ſeaſon (for it was then the depth of winter) and the neighbourhood of a powerful army, ready to fling in ſuccours on every occaſion. Cæſar ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, and the city ſurrendered the 19th of February. A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45.

He had been ſooner maſter of the place, had he been diſpoſed to comply with the terms offered him by the inhabitants, which were to let the garriſon march out unmoleſted. But he anſwered them haughtily, "that * Cæſar was uſed to preſcribe conditions, "not to receive them." This anſwer, which cut the garriſon off of all hopes, determined them to make a more obſtinate reſiſtance. But at length all the fortifications of the city being deſtroyed, and the garriſon and inhabitants diſagreeing, the latter opened their gates upon no other condition than the ſecurity of their lives. As for the garriſon, we have no account in what manner it was treated.

It is to be ſuppoſed that they were treated with ſeverity enough, if we may judge by the cruelty with which the two parties carried on the war. The commander of the garriſon of Ategua had cauſed a great number of the inhabitants, whom he ſuſpected to favour Cæſar, to have their throats cut, and be flung over the city walls. After the taking of Ategua, ſeventy-four citizens of an adjacent town were beheaded by Pompey's order for the like crime. And Cæſar's ſoldiers, for their parts, gave no quarter to any of the contrary party, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Such are the horrid effects of civil wars, which are always carried on with greater cruelty than any other.

Cæſar, ſince his coming into Bætica, had raiſed one ſiege, and taken a place of conſiderable ſtrength in the very face of the enemy. Theſe were no inconſiderable advantages: but yet there wanted a general

* Se conditiones dare, non accipere, conſueviſſe. De B. Hiſp. n. 14.

engage-

A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. engagement, as the only means to put an end to the war. Wherefore, as ſoon as he was maſter of Ategua, he ſtuck cloſe to young Pompey; who, to encourage his party, gave out that Cæſar was afraid to expoſe himſelf in an open country, at the ſame time that he himſelf took care to keep on the eminencies to prevent his being attacked. He only detached ſome parties of cavalry, which drew on ſome ſmall engagements, in which he ſometimes gained ſucceſs, but as often was worſted. At length the two armies, by frequently ſhifting their ground in order to harraſs each other, came near * Munda, a place become famous in hiſtory by young Pompey's ruin, and for terminating Cæſar's victories.

On the 27th of March, Cæſar, who was preparing to decamp, having received advice by his ſcouts that the enemy had been drawn up in order of battle ever ſince midnight, reſolved to attack them, and make uſe of an opportunity he had long wiſhed for. Pompey's deſign was to come to action, apprehending that by continually retiring, he might fling a ſlur on his arms, and be deſpiſed and forſaken by his partiſans. But he had choſen an advantageous poſt, near the city of Munda, which ſecured his retreat, and on an eminence, defended on one ſide by an almoſt impracticable moraſs. However, theſe difficulties were no impediment to Cæſar, who at firſt drew up his troops in the plain, leaving a ſufficient ſpace, in caſe the enemy had a mind to come down and attack him: but perceiving that they did not deſign to quit their poſt, he marched up to them, giving the word *Venus* for the parole of the day, a name he frequently made choice of on the like occaſions. The parole Pompey gave out was *Pietas*, alluding to his intention of avenging that day his father's death.

* This city ſtill retains its name, except that it is now wrote Monda. It is ſituate in the kingdom of Granada, not far from Malaga, near the little river Guadalmedina.

The

The battle was obſtinate. Pompey had not only the advantage of ground, but the ſuperiority in numbers, having thirteen legions to Cæſar's eight. And the perſons who compoſed theſe legions were ſo circumſtanced, as to be in a manner under a neceſſity of fighting deſperately; being either ſoldiers who had before ſerved under Afranius and Varro, and had paid no regard to the pardon Cæſar had granted them, conſequently had no hopes of further favour; or ſlaves ſet at liberty, who, if they ſhould happen to be taken priſoners, had nothing to expect but an ignominious puniſhment, or at leaſt a rigorous ſervitude. As for Cæſar's troops, their former glory, the preſence and eſteem of their ever fortunate General, a reſentment of having no reſpite in engaging a party, which tho' it had been ſo often defeated, ſtill continued formidable; all theſe reflections were ſtrong incentives to their behaving gallantly. However, there were ſome, doubtleſs, among the new levies, whoſe hearts were not exempt from fear, when the moment approached which was to decide their fate. Nor is it to be wondered at, if what Florus ſays is true, that Cæſar himſelf appeared more than ordinary ſerious. Perhaps he might not be thoroughly recovered from his diſtemper, of which he had had ſeveral ſevere fits ſince he came into Spain. A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. Flor. IV. 2.

However, it is certain that at firſt the battle went againſt him, and that victory ſeemed to declare for his enemies. Not only his new raiſed troops, but his veterans, after fourteen years conſtant ſucceſs, gave ground: and if they did not abſolutely run away, it was more owing to their ſenſe of ſhame, than to their courage.

This ill ſucceſs made Cæſar almoſt deſperate: he rallied his ſoldiers with what expedition he could, and endeavoured to animate them ſometimes by entreaties, ſometimes by reproaches. "What," ſays he to them, "are you going to give up your Gene-" "ral, who is grown grey under your laurels, to a" "parcel of boys?" Doubtleſs the danger muſt be very Plut. Cæſ.

A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. very great, and there were very little hopes of recovering the day, if we may believe on the teſtimony of Suetonius and Florus, that Cæſar was in doubt whether he ſhould not kill himſelf. He certainly expoſed himſelf very much: and thinking that in ſo great an exigence, he could not do too much, he quitted his horſe, took a buckler, and advanced within ten foot of the enemy. His example, and the apparent hazard he run, revived his ſoldiers courage. The tenth legion, that corps ſo often celebrated for its heroiſm, and which, though it was greatly reduced in number, was worth a whole army, particularly diſtinguiſhed itſelf. Yet the battle, which had laſted almoſt the whole day, ſtill continued doubtful, until Labienus by an injudicious, or at leaſt unfortunate motion, decided the affair.

Suet. Cæſ. 36.
Flor. IV. 2.

Cæſar had among his auxiliaries ſome light troops come from Mauritania, and commanded by Bogud, King of part of that country. That Prince, during the heat of the action, took it into his head to go and attack the enemies camp, which he imagined to find defenceleſs. Labienus perceiving his motion, detached five cohorts, which immediately quitted the field of battle in order to intercept the Moors and to ſave the camp. Cæſar either thought they were running away, or made believe ſo. He cried aloud that the enemy was making off: and this falſe opinion ſpreading itſelf inſtantly among the two armies increaſed the courage of the one, in proportion as it terrified the other: Cæſar's troops, eſpecially the tenth legion, took this opportunity to preſs the enemies, whoſe ranks began to be in ſome confuſion. In a ſhort time thoſe who at firſt were only a little diſordered, were entirely broke, and did not perceive their error until it was without remedy.

Never was victory more compleat. Thirty thouſand were killed on Pompey's ſide, amongſt whom were Labienus and Varus, to whom Cæſar paid the cuſtomary funeral honours, and three thouſand Roman Knights. All the legionary eagles were taken, as

as likewiſe the major part of the colours, and the faſces which were carried before the General; and ſeventeen principal officers were made priſoners. The Conqueror loſt a thouſand of his braveſt ſoldiers, and had five hundred wounded. This battle, which cloſed the civil war, was fought the ſame day, that four years before Pompey the Great ſet out from Brunduſium to go into Greece. It was plain that the combat was obſtinate; and Cæſar has himſelf acknowledged how great riſk he run, by declaring that on all other occaſions he had fought for victory, but at Munda for his own perſonal ſafety. A.R. 707. Ant. C. 45.

The remains of the defeated party ſaved themſelves, ſome in their camp, and others in the city of Munda. The camp was ſoon forced: but it was no ſuch eaſy matter to take the city, which was in a condition to maintain a ſiege. The conquerors that very day inveſted it: But as they had not time to open the trenches in form, they formed a kind of line of circumvallation round the town of the carcaſſes of the enemy, which they heaped up, and faſtened to one another by transfixing them with their ſwords and pikes: they alſo took care to turn the faces towards the beſieged, in order to inſpire them with terror, at the ſame time that they in this manner erected barbarous trophies of their victory. This ſiege laſted a month, and concluded with the death of almoſt the whole garriſon.

The unhappy Chief of this routed army did not long ſurvive his defeat. He tried all methods to ſave himſelf and a few troops and ſhips he had got together, but was conſtantly unfortunate. He was attacked and beaten by a party of the enemy, which had been detached in purſuit of him; and having the misfortune to be wounded in the ſhoulder and left leg, and to diſlocate his heel, he could neither mount on horſeback, nor bear the motion of a litter, but was obliged to conceal himſelf in an obſcure cavern. However, he was ſoon diſcovered by the enemy, who cut off his head, and brought it to Cæſar on the 12th of April.

A. R. 707, Ant. C. 45. April. As it was of conſequence that his death ſhould be made as public as poſſible, his head was for ſome time expoſed to public view, by the Conqueror's order, and afterwards interred.

Sextus Pompeius, the only remaining hopes of his family, for the preſent eſcaped the impending danger. He happened to be at Cordova during the battle of Munda, and was no ſooner informed of its ill ſucceſs, than he quitted the country, and went and concealed himſelf in the mountains of Celtiberia; where though he found means to eſcape all enquiry, yet he was drove to the neceſſity of plundering the country for his ſubſiſtence. However, we ſhall find that after Cæſar's death he reſumed his rank, and made no inconſiderable figure. By the victory of Munda all Bætica ſhortly fell into Cæſar's hands; and though the remains of Pompey's party made ſeveral attempts, and endeavoured to form an oppoſition at Cordova, Hiſpalis, and ſeveral other places, yet they were no more than the laſt ſtruggles of a dying party. They were preſently reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Conqueror's juriſdiction: and Cæſar had nothing further to do than regulate the affairs of the province, and make a diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments.

Sevil.

Scapula, who had principally contributed to the inſurrection of the province, hoped by a voluntary death to acquire immortal reputation. For which purpoſe he purſued the method of thoſe falſe Braves, who thought by an affectation of courage to gain extraordinary commendations, when in reality they only thereby concealed their deſpair and want of reſolution. He had retired from the field of battle to Cordova. There he aſſembled all his houſhold, ordered a funeral pile to be erected, and a magnificent ſupper to be got ready; he likewiſe gave directions that the hall and beds where they were to eat ſhould be ornamented, and the buffet ſet out in all its luſtre: and after having diſtributed his money and plate among his family, he ſat down early to ſupper, as to an entertainment;

tertainment; nor did he forget the perfumes, which, every one knows, the Romans were very fond of. At the concluſion of the feſtival, having given in charge to one of his freed-men to ſet fire to the pile, he ordered one of his ſlaves to put him to death, which was accordingly executed. A. R. 707. Ant. C. 47.

Cæſar, having convened at Hiſpalis the deputies of the ſeveral towns and diſtricts which had favoured the younger Pompey's party, made them, in a long harangue on that occaſion, all the reproaches which a ſuperiority of fortune impowers victors to throw on ſuch as they have in their power. But he took no other vengeance than by pecuniary fines, and a heavy impoſition of taxes, in the ſame manner as he had done in Africa. As his natural clemency induced him to avoid an effuſion of blood, ſo his innate avidity, ſupported by the neceſſity of the times, prompted him to the greateſt extortions. He plundered the very temples, particularly that of Hercules at Cadiz, whoſe treaſures, and all the rich oblations, he ſeized for his own uſe. Dio relates that he made even thoſe, whom he rewarded, pay for the freedom of Rome, and other privileges and favours which they found means to obtain. But as he puniſhed the guilty no otherwiſe than in their purſe, I can hardly perſuade myſelf that he ſold his favours to thoſe, whoſe conduct he had reaſon to approve.

His nephew the young Octavius, who then commenced his nineteenth year, and for whom he had a very great regard, was remarkably ſerviceable on this occaſion to ſeveral, who either implored the Dictator's clemency, or ſollicited any honours or rewards. The Saguntines were particularly obliged to him for his interceſſion, and protection; who, though they were charged with very heavy accuſations, found means, through his intereſt, to obtain their pardon from Cæſar. Nic. Damaſc. de inſtit. Aug.

In this manner this young man began to make himſelf known, and to anſwer his uncle's expectations. For as Cæſar had no children, and the promiſing genius

A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. nius of his nephew, who diſcovered on all occaſions a great ſuperiority of talents, had made him take the reſolution of adopting him, he for ſome time had made it his endeavours to improve him, and to introduce him to the world whenever opportunity offered. For this purpoſe he had inveſted him with the Prieſthood, vacant by the death of L. Domitius, ſlain at the battle of Pharſalia. And in his triumph, he made him march on horſeback by his ſide, adorned with ſpoils and other marks of honours, though his age and extraordinary delicacy of conſtitution had not permitted him to ſerve. In the feſtivals which ſucceeded his triumphs, he appointed him Superviſor and Director of the public ſhews, which were exhibited in the Grecian taſte and language. Laſtly, when he ſet out for the Spaniſh war, his deſign was to have taken him with him. But a violent fit of ſickneſs confined Octavius for a long time at Rome, ſo that he was not able to join his uncle till after the battle of Munda. It was in the amiable light I have juſt deſcribed, that he appeared in Spain; and it had been happy for him, if he had always preſerved the ſame mild ſentiments of humanity which he firſt ſet out with.

Suet. Aug. c. 8.

Cæſar, after having ſettled affairs in Spain, returned to Rome in the month of October, having compoſed, in the midſt of the tumult of arms and the no leſs embarraſſing concerns of the cabinet, and of frequent audiences, his two Anticatones, which I have before mentioned.

Plut. Cæſ.

On his return to Rome he gave orders for his triumph; whereat every body was much offended. Without doubt by triumphing, not becauſe he had ſubdued ſome barbarous nations or foreign Princes, but for having ruined without reſource the moſt illuſtrious family in Rome, he manifeſtly inſulted the misfortunes of his country: It was exulting at an event, which, as Plutarch obſerves, could not be juſtified before Gods or men, but through the neceſſity of its being ſo. However, Cæſar was deſirous, or at leaſt

leaſt conſented, that this ſcene, which ſo tenderly affected his fellow-citizens, ſhould be twice repeated, by the triumphs he decreed Q. Fabius and Q. Pedius, his Lieutenants General in Spain. And herein he committed another irregularity, becauſe by law a triumph could be only allowed to thoſe who had the chief command, and not to a perſon who had been delegated by another. A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. Dio.

He could not but perceive the general diſſatisfaction his procedure had occaſioned: for notwithſtanding the magnificence of his triumph, and of the feaſts which ſucceeded it, the people diſcovered not the leaſt emotion of joy: and they actually made a jeſt of the ſordid thriftineſs with which his Lieutenants triumphs were conducted. For the ſeveral repreſentations of the captive cities being on that occaſion in wood, whereas thoſe which had been exhibited in Cæſar's triumph were either of ſilver or ivory, it was given out that the cities of theſe latter triumphs were only the caſes of thoſe exhibited in Cæſar's.

However, herein the Senate was more blameable than Cæſar, and it was their flatteries which ſpoilt him. He himſelf had been ſo far from aſſuming any merit from the victory of Munda, that he had even neglected ſending any advice of it to Rome. But it was no ſooner known there, by public report, and by private letters, than the Senate, inſtead of imitating the Conqueror's prudent moderation, inſtanced the moſt exceſſive and unlimited joy, and ordered public thankſgivings to be continued for fifty days. The majority thereby were in hopes to pay their court to him: but in many, it was only a mere refined hatred; their deſign being, on this and many other occaſions, wherein they decreed him the moſt exceſſive honours, to excite people's envy, to render him odious, and to pave the way to his deſtruction. Cæſar, who was extremely fond of pomp, perceived not their drift, but gave entirely into their ſcheme; ſo readily do the moſt exalted genius's become the dupes of their favorite ruling paſſion. He ſcrupled not to celebrate Plut. Dio.

A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. lebrate an odious triumph, which had no foreign war for its pretence: and, ſome few inſtances excepted, there were no honours ſo exceſſive, nor no flattery ſo abſurd, which he did not afterwards readily accept.

Cæſar's fortune now was at its higheſt pitch. The contrary party was entirely deſtroyed, not having any leader or troops remaining throughout the whole empire. Cæſar, being now unoppoſed, only wanted ſome titles which might perpetuate and ſeem to authoriſe the power he had uſurped: and which, as he was abſolute, were ſoon conferred on him. He was accordingly declared IMPERATOR, or Emperor, *Pater Patriæ*, Conſul for ten years, and perpetual Dictator.

Suet. Cæſ. n. 76. Plut. Dio. Appian.

Plutarch obſerves that by this laſt title, he was inveſted with Monarchy; they having perpetuated that high Dignity, which had ever carried with it an unlimited authority. The appellation of *Pater patriæ* was only a title of honour: But that of * *Imperator*, in the manner it was granted him, conferred on him the chief command of all the forces of the Republic. As for the decennial Conſulſhip, it being of no ſervice to him by his having been declared perpetual Dictator and Emperor, he declined it.

His perſon, in like manner with that of the Tribunes, was declared ſacred and inviolable: but this precaution was not able to ſcreen him from the reſentment his unjuſt uſurpation inſpired people with. And to do him further honour, they altered the name of the month in which he was born; which being the

* This word has various acceptations. Beſides the common ſignification of General, it became a title of honour for any commander who had gained a ſingle victory. Of this we have cited, in the courſe of this hiſtory, ſeveral inſtances; and down to the time of Tiberius we find this title beſtowed on ſome private perſons, in this ſecond ſenſe. But this epithet of Imperator was given to Cæſar, in an entire new manner, ſignifying hereditary Generaliſſimo of all the forces of the Republic, and it deſcended to Auguſtus and all his ſucceſſors; which we tranſlate Emperor, and uſed in this ſenſe, it preceded all other titles: "Imperator C. Julius Cæſar, Conſul quartum, Dictator "perpetuus, Pater patriæ."

Tac. Ann. III. 74.

fifth

fifth from the month of March, had always, till then, been called, for that reaſon, *Quintilis*; but was now changed to *Julius*; from whence is derived our preſent July. A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45.

Imagination itſelf was exhauſted to invent new and uncommon honours for him: and this may be ſtiled the epocha of that ſpirit of flattery which was carried to ſo great a height under the ſucceeding Emperors, and increaſed in proportion as the object was baſe and deteſtable. I ſhall not particulariſe all the incenſe of this kind, which was offered up to Cæſar; the privilege of wearing the triumphal robe on all feſtival days, a diſtinct ſeat in all public ſhews, rank, pre-eminence, ſtatues, laſtly divine honours: though I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large as to this laſt article under the enſuing year. But I muſt not here omit, that, among his various prerogatives, there was no one gave him more ſatisfaction, than the permiſſion granted him, of conſtantly wearing a crown of laurel. And the motive for this ſatisfaction is very remarkable, and very proper to inſtance, that the greateſt men are not exempt from weakneſſes; even ſuch as expoſe them to the ſtrongeſt ridicule. Suet. Cæſ. n. 45.

It happened that the fore-part of his head was bald, and he had highly reſented ſome jokes which had been made on that occaſion: he therefore was extremely pleaſed, that by means of the laurel-crown, he could conceal this defect, which, though trifling in itſelf, gave him ſtrange uneaſineſs. For notwithſtanding he was then fifty years old, he piqued himſelf on his perſon; and as he pretended to be a deſcendant from Venus, he endeavoured to inſinuate, that he inherited from that Goddeſs, an extraordinary advantage, in perſon and figure. He certainly had a good complexion, a round * face, lively black eyes, and was tall and well-ſhaped: all which natural ad-

* I have elſewhere ſaid, on the authority of Plutarch, that Cæſar was thin. But the expreſſion of the Greek hiſtorian is confined to his ſhape and body, τὴν ἕξιν ἰσχνὸς: which is not incompatible with the round face attributed to him by Suetonius, "ore paulò pleniore."

A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. vantages he ſtudied to improve by the elegance of his dreſs. Who could have imagined, that Cæſar, who had conquered Gaul, and defeated Pompey, and the whole Republican party, ſhould almoſt deſerve to be ranked among the Petits-maîtres?

Suet. 70. & 80. Dio. Cæſar, till his triumph, had been ſole Conſul. But as ſoon as he had triumphed, he abdicated the Conſulſhip, convened the States, which he had a right to do as Dictator, and procured Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius to be nominated Conſuls for the three remaining months of the year. This was the ſecond inſtance of his creating theſe titular Conſuls, whoſe authority was extremely circumſcribed. The people could not help reſenting this degradation of the principal office of the Republic, and had a thorough contempt for ſuch imaginary Magiſtrates. Accordingly one day, as Q. Fabius was coming into the theatre, and his Lictor according to cuſtom required the people to make way for him, they all in general cried out, that they did not acknowledge Fabius for Conſul. But Cæſar, who no longer regarded rule, ſhortly afterwards, notwithſtanding the people's diſcontent, broke through the preſcribed regulations, in a more extraordinary and provoking manner. For this ſame Fabius happening to die ſuddenly the laſt day of December, the Dictator ſubſtituted in his place C. Caninius Rebilus, who entered into an office at ſeven o'clock in the morning, which he was to reſign at night.

Cic. ad Fam. VII. 30. Cicero took ſeveral occaſions to make merry with this extraordinary Conſulſhip. He ſaid that nobody had eat any dinner, all the while Caninius was Conſul: he commended his vigilance, in that he had not once cloſed his eyes during his whole conſulſhip: he

Macrob. Sat. II. 3. called him a metaphyſical Conſul, as he eſcaped the ſenſes. When he received the compliments on his

Plut. Cæſ. nomination, "Let's make haſte, ſays Cicero, leſt the "term of his office be expired, before we ſee him." Laſtly, he obſerved, that it would be one day aſked, under what Conſuls Caninius had been Conſul. This laſt

laſt joke had at that time its force. But what appeared then ſo extraordinary to Cicero, became afterwards cuſtomary. Under Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors, Conſuls were no longer created for a whole year: they were only nominated for ſome months, and the years were diſtinguiſhed by the names of thoſe, who were Conſuls on the firſt of January. A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. Suet. & Dio.

In whatever regarded employments, or offices, Cæſar only conſulted his own pleaſure, his intereſt, or the neceſſity of recompenſing his creatures. So that during the whole time he was in Spain, there were neither Prætors, Ediles, nor Queſtors. The functions of the ſeveral offices were diſcharged by Prefects, who acted under the direction of Lepidus, General of the horſe. When Cæſar returned to Rome, he created fourteen Prætors, and forty Queſtors, an exorbitant and unprecedented number.

In the diſpoſal of the governments of provinces he was intirely guided by his own inclinations; without ſuffering them to be drawn for, as had been uſual. He rejected ſuch as did not ſuit his purpoſe, and gave a ſum of money to a certain Baſilus, a Pretor, in lieu of a government which he had denied him. Baſilus was ſo diſpleaſed with, and ſo highly reſented this treatment, that he ſtarved himſelf in a fit of deſpair.

However, Cæſar did not totally deprive the people of their right in elections. He reſerved to himſelf the nomination of the Conſuls and of one moiety of the other magiſtrates, the other half was left to the choice of the people. The common form in elections was ſtill kept up, even for thoſe whom Cæſar appointed; with this difference, that billets were diſtributed among the Tribunes, importing: "I Cæſar Dictator, have given ſuch an office to ſuch a one:" or more modeſtly, "I recommend ſuch and ſuch perſons to you, that by your vote and intereſt, they may attain thoſe honours they ſo juſtly deſerve." Suet. Cæſ. 41.

He alſo created new Patricians. The number of the antient Patrician families was conſiderably diminiſhed by the various accidents to which human na- Dio.

A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45. ture is ſubject, and particularly by the civil wars. The Dictator reſolved to replace ſuch as were extinct, by creating new ones: a thing which had never been practiſed ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth. Nobility was to be acquired by means of great offices: but the Patriciat was hereditary, and only in ſuch ſenatorial families as had been made choice of by Romulus, or ſome of the ſucceeding Kings, or laſtly by Brutus, the firſt Conſul, and founder of their liberty. Of the new Patricians created by Cæſar, we know none particularly but young Octavius and Cicero. Dio indeed adds all who had attained the Conſular dignity, or bore any office: which I ſuppoſe muſt be underſtood, any Curule office.

Nic. Demaſc. inſtit. Aug. Dio. l. XLVI.

To conclude as much as relates to the preſent year, I muſt obſerve, that Cæſar, not being able to gratify the pretenſions of all who claimed the Conſulſhip by virtue of their ſervices, yet being deſirous to give them ſome ſatisfaction, he granted Conſular ornaments to ten, who had paſſed the Prætorian dignity. This new method of increaſing the rewards without any trouble or expence, was approved of, and frequently put in practice by the ſucceeding Emperors.

Suet. Cæſ. n. 76.

Though Cæſar had refuſed to accept the offer made him of a decennial Conſulſhip, yet he did not abſolutely decline that office: on the contrary, he got himſelf appointed Conſul for the enſuing year, and took Mark Anthony for his Collegue; who notwithſtanding the falling out he had had with the Dictator in relation to the ſucceſſion to Pompey's effects, on which account he did not follow him, either to the African or Spaniſh war, had for ſome months been retaken into favour. Dolabella, who had never quitted Cæſar, during the whole courſe of his wars, alſo laid claim to the Conſulſhip. Cæſar ſatisfied him, by procuring him to be appointed Conſul elect, and he was to enter into his office as ſoon as Cæſar had abdicated it; his deſign being to keep that office

Cic. Phil. II.

fice only a few months, till the time of his departure to make war againſt the Parthians: of this project we ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to ſpeak more fully. A. R. 707. Ant. C. 45.

Lepidus had been his General of the horſe, in his third and fourth Dictatorſhip: and it was continued to him in the fifth, which dignity Cæſar jointly held with his fifth Conſulſhip: nor had young Octavius intereſt enough to carry it from that old friend. This, though a conſiderable mortification to Octavius, was in ſome meaſure alleviated by the aſſurances given him that his pretenſions were only deferred, not rejected. For as Lepidus was inveſted with the governments of Narboneſe Gaul and Citerior Spain, and was ſhortly to ſet out to reſide there, Octavius had the promiſe of being in a few months appointed General of the horſe, and in that quality to accompany his uncle in his expedition againſt the Parthians. Theſe meaſures ſo taken, and which depended on the continuance of Cæſar's life, were defeated by his unhappy death, which happened the following year, while he was yet Conſul. Plin. VII. 45. Freinſhem. CXVI. 19, 20.

There was then no cauſe to ſuſpect ſuch an accident, but it was imagined the Dictator would be a long while abſent on account of the Parthian war. For which reaſon it was given out that there was to be a nomination of the Magiſtrates for ſeveral ſucceeding years: though there were no grounds for ſuch a report, except with regard to the Conſuls.

Sixteen Prætors were nominated for the enſuing year: and Cæſar, beſides the two Curule and the two Plebeian Ediles, which were created every year, inſtituted two more, which he ſtiled Cereates, who were to have the inſpection of the fruits of Ceres, ſuch as corn and all kinds of grain.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

Plut. Cæſ.

Cæſar was ſcarcely clear of the civil wars, when he began to grow tired of inaction. As he was * born for great atchievements, and paſſionately fond of glory, his continual ſucceſs was no inducement to him to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but became a ſpur to animate him to greater enterprizes. And as he ſoon loſt all ſenſe of preſent glory, he was ever ſeeking freſh honour: thus becoming in a manner his own rival, he ſought all occaſions to make each ſucceeding exploit efface the ſplendor of the former.

Theſe motives, which, to give them their juſt eſtimation, are no more than an incapacity of ſelf-enjoyment, and are not ſo ſtrong an inſtance of the greatneſs of ſoul in the perſon who is thereby determined, as of the inanity of all human poſſeſſions; theſe motives inſpired Cæſar with the deſign of making war againſt the Parthians. Beſides, his health improved by action, and in the hurry of arms; and he was never ſo diſordered as when at reſt, and unemployed. But his pretence was the deſire of avenging the Roman name, and of effacing any diſgrace they might lye under by Craſſus's defeat. And this appearing the motive, the Romans, who had nothing ſo much at heart as their national honour, could not but applaud the enterprize.

But Cæſar's views were not ſimply confined to the Parthian war; not to mention his deſign of chaſtiſing, en paſſant, the Dacians, for their frequent incurſions into Thrace and Pontus; he propoſed, after having defeated the Parthians, to go, by Hyrcania to the borders of the Caſpian ſea, to paſs mount Cau-

* Ἐπεὶ τὸ φύσει μεγαλήγορον αὐτῷ καὶ φιλότιμον αἱ πολλαὶ κατορθώσεις ἐπ[ὶ] ἀπόλαυσιν ἕτερον τῶν πεπονημένων, ἀλλ' ὑπόκαυμα καὶ θάρσος ἦσαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, μείζονων, ἐντεῦθεν ἐπινοίας πραγμάτων, καὶ καινὴν ἕροιτο δόξαν, ὡς ἀπαυ[σ]τοῦντι μόνῳ τῇ παρούσῃ τὸ μὲν πάθος ὠδίτ' ἂν ἕτερον, ἢ ζῆλος αὐτῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλῳ, φ[ι]λονεικία τις ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων πρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα. παρασκευὴ δὲ καὶ γνώμη, τ[ῆ]ς τέρας ἐστὶ Πάρθοις. PLUT. Cæſ.

caſus

caſus, then to penetrate into Scythia, whoſe frightful deſerts he was to traverſe in order to come into Germany, and laſtly to return, by Gaul, into Italy. Thus nothing but the conqueſt of all the then known world, and the poſſeſſion of an Empire, which had ſcarce any other limits than the ocean, could ſatisfy his towering ambition. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

The neceſſary preparations for ſo grand an enterprize ſeemed ſufficient employment for one man: but nothing was ſo extenſive as Cæſar's genius. Various deſigns, which were all uncommonly grand, divided his attention, without either fatiguing him, or diverting him from his principal point. He intended to add to the ornaments of Rome, by two ſuperb edifices, of which he had already taken the plan and dimenſions, and laid the foundation. One was a theatre of an immenſe extent at the foot of mount Capitolinus; the other was a temple to Mars, which was to be bigger than any yet in the world. Theſe two works were finiſhed by his ſucceſſor. His taſte for learning engaged him to employ the learned Varro, in forming a library of all the Greek and Latin authors, which he intended for the uſe of the public. He had alſo formed a deſign of abridging the laws, which by reaſon of their number were become extremely vexatious, and to retain no more of the civil law, than what ſhould be found uſeful and neceſſary. And he procured a Senatuſconſultum, which ordered a geographical deſcription to be made of the whole empire, wherein were exactly to be marked the roads and their diſtances.

He alſo intended works of another kind, and of an immenſe expence, but which tended greatly to the public utility. Such as, draining the Palus Pomptinus, a lake of a very great extent in Latium, entirely uſeleſs, and extremely unwholeſome; digging a new bed for the Tiber from Rome to the ſea, in order to facilitate its navigation; making a port at Oſtia capable of containing the firſt-rate ſhips, and cutting out roads through the Appennine mountains, from the Adriatic

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Adriatic ſea to Rome: laſtly, he purpoſed to divide the Iſthmus of Corinth, to ſave the ſeamen the trouble of going round by Peloponneſus. The magnificence of all theſe deſigns muſt be allowed, though perhaps ſome of them were ſcarce to be effected by any human power, and have been ſince in vain attempted by various Princes, ſuch as the draining the lake, and the junction of the Egean and Ionian ſeas.

To this aſtoniſhing multitude of deſigns, we muſt yet add the reſtoration of two cities, no leſs famous for their deſtruction, than for the figure they formerly made in the world, Carthage and Corinth. Their ruin happened pretty near the ſame time, and they were much about the ſame time re-eſtabliſhed, by the Colonies the Dictator ſent thither: or if he did not carry this project into execution, it was at leaſt of his contrivance; and it was from his memoirs that Auguſtus rebuilt theſe two cities, which afterwards acquired a reputation not far ſhort of what they had originally enjoyed.

Whilſt Cæſar's thoughts were taken up with theſe grand projects, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, which was not only to defeat in an inſtant all his deſigns, but to deprive him of his life. Which tragical adventure it is now neceſſary to deſcribe.

SECT. II.

Cæſar's clemency. He refuſes to accept of a guard. Several circumſtances which render him odious. His readineſs to accept of honours, and exorbitant privileges. Arrogance in his diſcourſe, and behaviour. Deſire of Royalty. Mark Anthony tenders the Diadem to Cæſar. Public reſentment to Cæſar. Conſpiracy againſt his life. Brutus's character. Caſſius the firſt contriver of the conſpiracy. He engages Brutus, who becomes the principal manager. They are joined by Ligarius and ſeveral of Cæſar's former friends. Brutus's prudence in the choice of his aſſociates. Cicero is not let into the ſecret.

ſecret. Trebonius prevents the affair being propoſed to Anthony: and Brutus oppoſes his being put to death with Cæſar. The number of the Conſpirators increaſes to upwards of ſixty. Several of their names. Surpriſing courage of Porcia the wife of Brutus. Her husband lets her into the ſecret. The Conſpirators determine to kill Cæſar in full Senate. Cæſar begins to have ſome ſuſpicions of Brutus and Caſſius. He rejects the predictions of a Soothſayer. Cæſar's opinion as to what kind of death is moſt eligible. His wife Calpurnia's frightful dream. Cæſar is inclined not to go to the Senate-houſe, till perſuaded to the contrary by D. Brutus. An intimation ſent him of the conſpiracy, which never came to his knowledge. Reſolution and tranquillity in the Conſpirators. They meet with ſeveral diſappointments. Cæſar's death. He falls at the foot of Pompey's ſtatue. Different opinions in relation to Cæſar's murther. Without doubt he deſerved death. Brutus's conduct reproachable. Short reflections on Cæſar's character.

CÆSAR's clemency, conſidering how he was circumſtanced, was certainly beyond example, and ſeemed to ſecure him from any attempts that might be made by his countrymen to diſturb his tranquillity, or ſhorten his days. He had carried this noble inclination of ſoul to its full extent, not only by pardoning a great number of his inveterate enemies, but latterly by permitting all, without any diſtinction, to return to Rome, and enjoy their rights and privileges. He even did not exclude Pompey's moſt zealous partiſans from the higheſt honours: of this I might cite Brutus and Caſſius for examples, who, at this very time I am now treating of, were inveſted with the Prætorſhip. Nor was his moderation or mildneſs to be diſturbed by the ſeveral reflections flung out againſt him, both in writings and diſcourſe; and he readily forgave the authors, or at leaſt thought them not worth his reſentment. With regard to Pompey, he never ſpoke of him but with eſteem and reverence:

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Suet. Cæſ. 75.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. ad Fam. VI. 6. Plut. Cæſ. verence: and when the mob, to pay their court to him, overturned the ſtatues of that great man, Cæſar ordered Anthony his Collegue to replace them: which gave Cicero an occaſion very ingeniouſly to obſerve, "that Cæſar, by reſtoring Pompey's ſtatues, ſecured his own." He obſerved the ſame behaviour with reſpect to Sylla, to whom he had always had an averſion, but whoſe ſtatues he would not ſuffer to be demoliſhed.

Such magnanimity muſt be univerſally applauded, and the more ſo as in him it proceeded from inclination, and he did not want adviſers to incline him to cruelty. This is hinted at by Cicero in a paſſage of his oration for Ligarius: "If in * the high ſtation you are in, ſays he to Cæſar, you had not maintained that natural fund of goodneſs, I ſay natural, and I have my meaning, the victory, you have obtained, might have been followed by an almoſt general mourning. For it might well be expected, that among the Conquerors there would be ſeveral inclined to diſpoſe you to cruelty, when we even find ſome ſuch among the conquered."

Cæſar's moderation therefore cannot be too much commended: and of all the honours whereby the impious adulation of the Romans ranked him with the Gods they worſhipped, he ſeems to have the juſteſt claim to the conſecration of his ſtatue, which they ſet up in the temple of Clemency, giving its hand to that Goddeſs.

Dio. l. XLIV.

Cæſar imagined that he had ſucceeded, by dint of generoſity, in procuring the affection of the citizens, or at leaſt that he need have no apprehenſions of them. He was ſenſible that one-half, that is, thoſe who had always ſerved him, muſt neceſſarily be attached to him through inclination and intereſt; and the reſt,

* Si in hac tanta tua fortuna lenitas tanta non eſſet, quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines, intelligo quid loquar, acerbiſſimo luctu redundaret iſta victoria. Quàm multi enim eſſent de victoribus, qui te crudelem eſſe vellent, quum etiam de victis reperiantur? Cic. pro Lig. n. 15.

through

through gratitude, as they were indebted to him for their lives. On this principle, (whoſe fallacy, when an uſurper ſuch as he was is concerned, I have before expoſed,) he perſiſted in not taking a guard. And notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of ſeveral of his moſt intimate friends, particularly Hirtius and Panſa, who had a real eſteem for him, he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution, even at times when he was not without apprehenſions: but he rejected their advice, ſaying, that it was better to die once, than to live in perpetual alarms. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Vell. II. 57. Appian. Civil. l. II.

Yet had his conduct been blameleſs, and had he been careful to avoid giving any offence, he might have hoped to have lived unmoleſted. But ſeveral circumſtances, for which there was no excuſe, evinced, that notwithſtanding his ſuperiority of genius, he was not proof againſt the ſeducing influence of Sovereignty; and that his underſtanding, which had ſo often ſhewn on other occaſions its ſtrength and vigour, was unable to ſupport proſperity.

Of this nothing can be a ſtronger proof than the facility with which he accepted the moſt extravagant honours. I have already handled this point: but I muſt yet further add, that they decreed him all kinds of divine honours, ſacrifices, incenſe, libations, altars, temples, fixed feaſts, Prieſts, and laſtly the appellation of Jupiter Julius: and Anthony his Colleague was appointed the Prieſt of this new Deity. They alſo beſtowed on him all imaginable titles of power and dignity. Beſides thoſe I have already mentioned, they ſtiled him the Deliverer, and ordered the conſtruction of a temple to the liberty which he oppreſſed. He was declared ſole and perpetual Cenſor, or Inſpector of morals, *Præfectus morum*. A decree paſſed that the title of Emperor, and the High-prieſthood ſhould be hereditary to his children and grandchildren, though he at that time had no iſſue. And orders were given for ſtatues to be erected to him in every temple and in every city: and particularly two in the Roſtra, one of which wore the Corona Civica, Freinſh. CXVI. 8, 33, 34.

implying

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. implying that he had ſaved the citizens; and the other the Corona Obſidionalis, becauſe he had delivered his country. He had alſo a ſtatue erected to him in Quirinus's temple, by the epithet of the invincible God; and another in the Capitol, ſubſequent to thoſe of the antient Kings of Rome, in the midſt of whom was L. Brutus, the author and avenger of the public liberty. Theſe two laſt ſtatues ſeemed to be placed rather ominouſly for the perſon they were intended to honour. Quirinus, or Romulus had been torn to pieces by the Senators, as a tyrant and oppreſſor of his country. And Cicero ſays in a letter to Atticus: "* I am better pleaſed to ſee Cæſar aſſociated to Quirinus, than to the Goddeſs of Safety." As for Cæſar's ſtatue, which was placed near that of the elder Brutus, it ſerved as a hint and encouragement to the Brutus who afterwards became the principal conſpirator.

I ſhall conclude this tedious detail of ſo many baſe flatteries by a yet more extraordinary one than any I have already mentioned, wherein all regard to modeſty, decency, and decorum, was totally neglected. As Cæſar was known to be of an amorous conſtitution, which he made no ſcruple to indulge, there were ſome who, being aſk'd their advice in the Senate, were of opinion, that he ought to be allowed to make uſe of as many women as he pleaſed, without any regard to their rank or condition: and it is aſſerted, that Helvius Cinna, a Tribune of the people entirely devoted to the Dictator, had prepared a law for that purpoſe, which he was to propoſe in his abſence, though it had been contrived by his orders.

Dio. Suet. Cæſ. 52.

Cæſar had gone too far in ſuffering, and what is yet more inexcuſable, in extorting ſo many decrees full of the baſeſt flattery, and which, rightly conſidered, were no leſs diſhonourable for him to whom they were directed, than for their mean contrivers. But the arrogant manner with which he received theſe

Suet. Cæſ. 78. Plut. Cæſ. Dio.

* Eum συνναον Quirino malo, quàm Saluti. Cic. ad Att. XII. 45.

marks of the public ſervitude increaſed the general diſguſt. For when the whole body of the Senate, preceded by all the Magiſtrates, came to preſent him ſome acts which they had paſſed in his favour; Cæſar never quitted the Curule Chair in which he was ſitting before Venus's temple, or according to others, in the middle of the Roſtra, but only gave each of them his hand. This arrogance ſtrangely offended not only the Senate, but the people, who thought the majeſty of the Republic deſpiſed and degraded, by the treatment their auguſt repreſentatives had received. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

There are ſome who are for excuſing Cæſar, and ſay that he would have riſen, but was prevented by one of his friends, or rather of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, who ſaid to him: "Have you forgot "that you are Cæſar, and that it is fitting you receive "with dignity the homage which is due to you?" But others on the contrary aſſert, that when he was adviſed by Trebatius to pay the Senate the proper compliment, he took this advice very ill, and gave him a look which ſufficiently denoted his reſentment. Be it how it will, he had no ſooner committed the fault than he was ſenſible of it, and pretended to excuſe it by ſaying, he at that inſtant perceived himſelf going into a fit, which he was afraid his ſtanding would ſo far increaſe as to occaſion his falling. But this reaſon was only thought to be a pretence, the rather as he was afterwards ſeen to return home afoot.

This brought to mind the reſentment he had himſelf ſhewn on a like occaſion, and it was remembered that he did not ſo eaſily pardon any want of reſpect to his perſon. For in his firſt triumph, as he paſſed by the Tribune's bench, one of thoſe magiſtrates, named Pontius Aquila, happened not to riſe from his ſeat, which ſo offended Cæſar, that he immediately aſked him, "* why he did not claim the adminiſtration?" And for ſeveral days afterwards, he never promiſed,

* Repete ergo à me Rempublicam Tribunus. SUET. Cæſ. 78.

or

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

or granted any favour, without ironically adding "provided Pontius Aquila conſent to it."

Theſe ſeveral inſtances are very unworthy of Cæſar and diſcover a ſurpriſing meanneſs in ſo great a man and an imprudence ſcarce to be accounted for, in ſo extenſive a genius. And yet this diſcourſe was ſuitable to his behaviour, and he was frequently heard to ſay "* that the Republic was no more than a ſhadow without ſubſtance, a name without any reality. That Sylla knew not what he was doing, when he abdicated the Dictatorſhip. That he expected to be ſpoke to with more reſpect; and that whatever he ſaid ſhould be conſidered as a law." Such expreſſions highly exaſperated the Romans, who were content with having their liberties invaded, but expected that at leaſt there might be ſome external decorum obſerved.

Cæſar ſum'd up all his indiſcretions by an affectation of Royalty, which he was unable to ſuppreſs, or conceal: and by this means he furniſhed his enemies with the moſt ſpecious pretence they could have ſought for, and induced many to attempt his life, who otherwiſe would never have thought on it. His ambition might well have been ſatisfied. In fact he was King; but he wanted the appellation: and the reality could not ſatisfy him, unleſs he alſo had the title.

Faſti capit.

Of this he gave ſeveral proofs, on ſeveral occaſions. The 26th of January, as he returned from Mount Albany, where he had been to celebrate the Feriæ Latinæ, he entered the city in Ovation: This piece of ſtate, however mean and contemptible it might appear after ſo many magnificent triumphs, yet as it helped to feed his inſatiable vanity, was not unacceptable. Some of his attendants, who probably were hired for that purpoſe in order to ſound the people, among the ſeveral acclamations with which

Suet. Cæſ. 79. Plut. Dio. Appian.

* Nihil eſſe Rempublicam: appellationem modò, ſine corpore ac ſpecie. Sullam neſciſſe literas, qui Dictaturum depoſuerit. Debere homines conſideratiùs jam loqui ſecum, & pro legibus habere quæ dicat. SUET. Cæſ. 77.

they

they honoured Cæſar's entry, proclaimed him King. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.
But the mob, inſtead of ſhewing their approbation, teſtified their aſtoniſhment by their ſilence: and the Dictator, who was ſenſible of it, made anſwer, "that he was not King, but Cæſar." Hitherto he had done nothing which could be taken hold of, and at moſt had only given grounds for ſuſpicion; but the following inſtance put it out of all doubt.

A man of no rank having on this very occaſion put a Crown on Cæſar's ſtatue, two of the Tribunes, Epidius Marullus and Cæſetius Flavus, ordered the Diadem to be taken off the ſtatue, and committed the man to priſon. They alſo made enquiry after thoſe who had firſt proclaimed Cæſar King, and having alſo ſent them to priſon, intended to proſecute them. Cæſar, in point of policy, ought certainly to have commended the zeal of the Tribunes. On the contrary, he complained bitterly of them in the Senate, under pretence that they had robbed him of the glory of declining an honour which had been illegally conferred on him; and he accuſed them of endeavouring to make him ſuſpected of aſpiring at a tyrannical power. Nor did he confine himſelf to ſimple complaints, but inſiſted that they ſhould be removed from their office. Helvius Cinna their Collegue, ſeconded the Dictator in his revenge, and procured a law to be paſſed, whereby they were depoſed. Nay, Cæſar carried his reſentment ſo far as to inſiſt that Cæſetius's father ſhould diſinherit and diſown his ſon: but the father abſolutely refuſed to comply with ſo unjuſt an order: nor could Cæſar, who even in his greateſt acts of injuſtice always preſerved ſome ſentiments of generoſity, be offended at ſo laudable a reſolution. However, this adventure betrayed his private thoughts, with regard to Royalty; and notwithſtanding the falſe allegations which ſerved as a pretence for his reſentment to the Tribunes, there was no one ſo dull as not to diſcover the real motive.

Jul. Obſeq. Val. Max. V. 7.

Or had there been any doubt remaining, Anthony took care to remove it, and that in the moſt public

Plut. Cæſ. & Anton.

A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44. manner. This happened during the celebration of the Lupercalia, a feſtival ſacred to Pan; and Anthony, though at that time actual Conſul, officiated as one of the Luperci, or Prieſts of this extravagant ceremony. I ſay extravagant: for theſe Prieſts ran naked about the ſtreets, with whips in their hands, with which they ſtruck all they met: and the Ladies of the firſt faſhion endeavoured to be under their laſh, being of opinion that it procured fruitfulneſs. Whilſt the city was amuſed with theſe extravagancies, which paſſed for a religious ceremony, Cæſar was in the Roſtra, ſeated on a golden throne, dreſſed in the triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel. In this ſituation he was accoſted by Anthony, who preſented him the Diadem. The univerſal murmuring of all preſent was a ſufficient hint to Cæſar to decline the offer: and the huzzas which attended his refuſal teſtified the people's approbation of his conduct. However, Anthony made a ſecond attempt: and was mean enough to proſtrate himſelf before the Dictator, as if it were to excite his compaſſion. But the people, who manifeſted their diſapprobation by a profound ſilence, prevented Cæſar's accepting what he ſo ardently deſired. Inſtead of putting the Crown on his head, he placed it on his throne: but perceiving that the peo-

Suet. Dio. ple were not yet ſatisfied, he ſent the Diadem to the Capitol; ſaying, that Jupiter was the only King of the Romans. He however permitted that it ſhould be regiſtered in the Faſti, that is, in the journal wherein were ſet down all the memorable events of the year, that on the Lupercalia, the Conſul Anthony having by order of the people tendered Royalty to Cæſar, at that time perpetual Dictator, he had refuſed to accept of that honour.

It were needleſs for me to obſerve, that this whole ſcene had been concerted between Cæſar and Anthony; as the thing ſpeaks of itſelf. But it may be neceſſary to take notice, that all theſe unſucceſsful attempts could not prevail on Cæſar to abandon his favourite ſcheme. But as he found there was no poſſi-

bility

bility of his ever being acknowledged King in Rome, he formed a project for having that title conferred on him at leaſt in the provinces of the empire. For this purpoſe L. Cotta, one of the Prieſts, to whoſe cuſtody the Sibyls books were confided, was to repreſent to the Senate, that according to the Sybils predictions the Parthians could not be defeated, unleſs by a King: and that conſequently it would be proper, that Cæſar ſhould take upon him that dignity, in order to go and ſubdue them. And probably it was from the many obſtacles which he met with, in Rome, to the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, that he began to conceive a diſlike to that capital, and that he firſt thought of quitting it, and tranſporting the ſeat of the empire to Alexandria or Ilium. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

All this ſeems very ſtrange, and will appear more ſo when we add, that he himſelf was perfectly ſenſible of the danger he expoſed himſelf to, in affecting Royalty. For the day the Diadem had been offered him by Anthony, when he returned to his houſe, he laid his throat bare, ſaying, that his enemies had nothing to do but to ſtrike, as they had now the moſt plauſible pretence they could wiſh for, to juſtify their taking away his life. Plut. Anton.

His obſervation was juſt; and it was at that very time that the conſpiracy, wherein he fell, was firſt ſet on foot. The Romans in general were extremely irritated againſt him, for the reaſons I have mentioned: and the public reſentment ſhewed itſelf in ſeveral flagrant inſtances, though their authors took care to be concealed. At a nomination of Conſuls, Cæſetius and Marullus, whom the Dictator had depoſed, had a great number of votes. I have mentioned that a ſtatue had been erected to Cæſar in the Capitol adjoining to thoſe of the Kings, in the midſt of whom ſtood the ſtatue of the elder Brutus, holding a naked ſword in his hand. Some one had fixed to the pedeſtal of Brutus's ſtatue the following inſcription, "Wou'd thou cou'dſt come to life again!" and to Suet. Cæſ. 80.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Plut. Cæſ. & Brut. Dio. Appian.

Cæſar's; "Brutus, * for having expelled the Kings, was created the firſt Conſul; and this man, for having expelled the Conſuls, is at laſt made King." M. Brutus, who was inveſted with the Prætorian dignity, became now the object of every one's hopes, and he received ſeveral invitations to ſhew himſelf worthy of his name. He frequently heard it ſaid: "We want "a Brutus:" and he found on the Tribunal where he ſat as Judge, ſeveral billets and inſcriptions, which reflected on his inaction: "You are are aſleep, Bru-"tus: you are no true Brutus."

However, he continued not long thus inactive, but ſoon became the chief conductor of the conſpiracy. Not that thoſe popular and anonymous exhortations were his principal inducement, or that he himſelf was the firſt contriver: Caſſius was the perſon who firſt engaged him in the conſpiracy. But before I proceed, it will not be improper to draw the characters of theſe two men, the laſt avengers of the Roman liberty.

Plut. Brut.

M. Brutus pretended to be deſcended from the elder Brutus: though Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus and ſome other writers will not allow him this illuſtrious original: and I cannot think that it was flattery alone which induced theſe authors to degrade the profeſſed enemy of the Cæſars. If the deliverer of Rome had left any iſſue, it were next to impoſſible that they ſhould not make a figure in the Republic. And yet for upwards of two hundred years after the death of the elder Brutus, hiſtory mentions but one of that name, a plebeian, who was concerned in the people's retreat to the Sacred Mount, and was one of the firſt Tribunes: and when, after the interval I have mentioned, the Brutus's appear inveſted with the Curule offices, they were looked upon as a new race of men. But as, at the time I am now treating of, this family

* Brutus, quia reges ejecit, Conſul primus factus eſt. Hic quia conſules ejecit, Rex poſtremò factus eſt.

had for upwards of two centuries enjoyed the principal honours and poſts in the Republic, it is no wonder that, from the reſemblance of names, it ſhould have ingrafted itſelf on the patrician houſe of the firſt Brutus, and that that opinion ſhould then prevail with the public. A. R. 708 Ant. C. 44.

So that M. Brutus was reputed to be deſcended, on the father-ſide, from the Author of the Roman liberty; and on the ſide of his mother Servilia, Cato's ſiſter, he was inconteſtably deſcended from Servilius Ahala, a generous defender of that ſame liberty, and recorded for having ſlain Sp. Mælius for affecting the ſupreme power. As he was born with extreme good natural parts, he took care to improve them by the ſtudy of Philoſophy: and blending with the mildneſs and ſobriety of his manners the principles of an uſeful and honourable activity, he is repreſented in hiſtory as the moſt amiable and moſt virtuous among the Romans.

He had certainly a noble model before his eyes in the perſon of his uncle Cato, who became alſo his father-in-law; and his whole ſtudy was to imitate him. His mildneſs was far from being natural, being rather of a ſanguine diſpoſition, yet he never determined raſhly, but proſecuted ſtrenuouſly what he had once reſolved. This was very juſtly remarked by Cæſar, who often obſerved, ſpeaking of Brutus! "* That "young man, ſaid he, is never indifferent in his deter- "minations, for what he has once concluded, he vigo- "rouſly aſſerts." No ſollicitations or applications, that were not ſupported by juſtice, could have any effect on him. He thought it ſcandalous and unworthy a great man, to comply with a requeſt, for want of reſolution to deny a perſon to his face: and he uſed to ſay that he ſuſpected thoſe had not paſſed their youth very wiſely, who had not learned to ſay No.

* Magni refert hic quid velit; ſed * quidquid vult, valde vult. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 1.

* I rather think it ſhould be Nam, as I have tranſlated it.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Nor was he leſs ſtudious to adorn his mind than to inſtruct his heart; and to virtue he added inſtruction, which have certainly a very near affinity. I have already ſaid that he applied himſelf much to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, which at that time almoſt wholly turned on the principles of natural religion and morality: and he had with him the Philoſopher Ariſto, who, though no great Orator, yet by his behaviour did honour to his profeſſion.

Eloquence, that neceſſary inſtrument to a Stateſman, eſpecially in a commonwealth, was his next concern; and this he practiſed both in Greek and Latin: for which purpoſe he retained in his family a Greek Rhetorician named Empylus, from whom he took his leſſons. And herein he ſo far ſucceeded as to be reputed one of the beſt Orators of the learned age: and Cicero in the treatiſe which he called by his name, "Brutus", and which he compoſed under Cæſar's adminiſtration, regrets that there are no opportunities for diſplaying ſo excellent a talent. "You * raiſed yourſelf, ſays he to him, with an uncommon progreſs to the reputation of eloquence; and I am concerned to ſee that the misfortune of the times has interrupted your courſe." However, it appears, by ſome other paſſages in Cicero, that Brutus's eloquence was too much tinged with philoſophy: which made his diſcourſes appear dry, and in ſome meaſure deſtroyed their effect. However, his pleadings before Cæſar in Aſia, in the behalf of Dejotarus, were very pathetic, and what is more, ſucceſsful; ſince he thereby procured him his pardon from an incenſed judge, and ſecured him a great part of his revenues.

Cic. ad Att. XIV. 20. XV. 1.

Brutus had a natural inclination to ſtudy; it was his favorite occupation whenever affairs would permit him; nor did it forſake him even in camp. While he ſerved under Pompey, whenever he was diſengaged from that General, he amuſed himſelf with his

* In te intuens, Brute, doleo; cujus in adoleſcentiam per medias laudes quaſi quadrigis vehentem tranſverſa incurrit miſera fortuna Reipublicæ. Cic. Brut. 331.

books.

books. The night preceding the battle of Pharſalia, after a very fatiguing hot day, whilſt the reſt ſlept, or ruminated on the morrow's event, Brutus was reading and making extracts out of Polybius. That Hiſtorian muſt certainly give him pleaſure, from his judgment and perſpicuity; and his reflections are the more valuable, as he ſpeaks from his own knowledge, having himſelf ſerved both in a civil and military capacity. When Brutus afterwards came to have the command of an army, he did not forget what had ever been his chief entertainment. For the very evening before the battle of Philippi, he dedicated ſome time to reading. As he ſlept but little, he ſpent part of the night in drawing out his plans, and making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the morrow; and then ſat down to reading, until he was interrupted by ſome of his chief officers coming into his tent, to levée him. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Such was Brutus: and the ſeveral inſtances we have related of him hitherto perfectly agree with his character: his averſion to Pompey, his father's murtherer; which, however, did not prevent his ſiding with him, as ſoon as he ſaw him at the head of the honeſter part, and the ſole reſource of the Republic; the frankneſs with which he ſurrendered himſelf to Cæſar after the battle of Pharſalia; the prudence, mildneſs and moderation with which he governed Ciſalpine Gaul; all theſe qualities ſerved to ingratiate him with Cæſar, who, even had he been leſs deſerving, could not but love him, as being the ſon of Servilia, and perhaps his own. Brutus had it at his option to become one of the firſt in Cæſar's friendſhip, and to be next to him in power: and perhaps he might have yielded to ſuch alluring temptations, had he not been warned by Caſſius's friends to be on his guard. "Do not ſuffer yourſelf to be melted and enchanted "by Cæſar, ſaid they to him, but ſhun the careſſes "and favours of a tyrant. His intention is not to do "honour to your virtue, but to impair your courage "and deſtroy your vigour."

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. Phil. II. n. 26.

Caſſius, who for a long time had meditated Cæſar's death, and who even, according to Cicero, was near putting it in execution in Cilicia, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, ought to be conſidered as the firſt contriver of the conſpiracy. However, he could not himſelf firſt break it to Brutus, as there had been for ſome time a miſunderſtanding between them. Yet they had very powerful inducements to be on good terms with each other; being brothers-in-law, by the intermarriage of Junia, Brutus's ſiſter, with Caſſius; beſides, Caſſius had obligations to Brutus for having ſooner and on better terms obtained his pardon, from Cæſar, after the battle of Pharſalia. But they happened to be nominated Prætors at the ſame time, which occaſioned a diſpute between them, which ſhould have the precedence. However, they ſubmitted the deciſion to Cæſar; when Caſſius pleaded his ſuperiority of years, and claimed ſome merit from the ſervices he had done the Republic, in the Parthian war, after Craſſus's defeat. Cæſar himſelf was of opinion he ought to have the preference, but he was over-ruled by his affection to Brutus. "Caſ-"ſius's reaſons," ſaid he, "are certainly the more "cogent: but Brutus muſt have the precedency." This determination, which did not appear equitable, even to the judge who gave it, was looked upon by the adverſe party as a heinous affront. Caſſius diſcontinued viſiting Brutus, and his hatred to Cæſar became more ſtrong and violent. For beſides the public reaſons, he had had for a long time a perſonal pique to him: and it is from this foundation that ſeveral have made a great diſtinction betwixt Brutus and Caſſius, with reſpect to the conſpiracy. They ſaid that Brutus could not brook an unjuſt uſurpation of power; but Caſſius's reſentment was perſonal, and his hatred was to Cæſar, and not to the tyrant.

But Plutarch will not allow that there was any foundation for ſuch a reflection; and to inſtance Caſſius's natural deteſtation of tyranny, he cites a tranſaction of his while he was yet a child. Caſſius was at the

the ſame ſchool, and had the ſame maſter as Fauſtus Sylla, the ſon of the Dictator. Fauſtus one day took it into his head, in diſcourſing with his ſchool-fellows, to brag of his father's Dictatorſhip, which ſo far exaſperated Caſſius, that he ſtruck him on the face with his fiſt. This affair occaſioned much talk; and Sylla's friends and relations inſiſted on ſatisfaction from the aggreſſor. Pompey undertook to decide it, and ſent for the two children. When Caſſius came before him, he ſaid to young Sylla with an air of reſentment: "Repeat the ſame diſcourſe in Pompey's preſence, and ſee whether I ſhan't correct you for it." A. R. 702. Ant. C. 44.

This action without doubt is a proof of what Plutarch advances: and an averſion to tyranny was ſo common among the Romans, and indeed is ſo to all mankind in general, that it may eaſily be believed to be ſo in Caſſius: But then this averſion might be ſtrengthened by his particular diſlike to Cæſar. There was certainly no reſemblance between Brutus and Caſſius, in point of equity and moderation; the latter being of an enterpriſing, haughty, implacable, ambitious temper; and who made no ſcruple to ſacrifice juſtice to his intereſt, or in order to ſerve his party; as we ſhall find in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Nor indeed could it be expected, that he ſhould have any great regard for virtue, from the philoſophical ſect whoſe doctrines he purſued; being a profeſt Epicurean. It is true his ambition preſerved him from that inaction, indolence and inattention to public affairs, which were the maxims of his inſtructors. But it is impoſſible that he, who places the ſovereign good in pleaſure, and whoſe will is his law, ſhould have any regard to honour and juſtice.

As ſoon as Caſſius, from theſe motives of public and private reſentment, had determined to form a conſpiracy againſt Cæſar's life, he began by ſounding his friends, who all promiſed to aſſiſt him, provided Brutus would take the management upon him. "We "muſt not build our hopes on our numbers, ſaid they "to him, nor even on our courage; but the eſſential

"point

A. R. 708, Ant. C. 44. "point is to get ſuch a man as Brutus at our head, "whoſe name alone can juſtify our undertaking. With- "out that, we ſhall want reſolution in the execution, "and our meaſures will be liable to cenſure: for no "one will be perſuaded that if we had had equity on our "ſide, Brutus would have refuſed to join us." In ſo high eſteem was Brutus's virtue, which he enjoyed unenvied by Caſſius, who, to ſhew his approbation, was willing to make the firſt advances to his brother-in-law, whom he had not ſeen ſince their quarrel about the Prætorſhip.

Accordingly he waited on him, and after a reconciliation made, and reciprocal aſſurances of friendſhip given, he aſked him if he ſhould be at the Senate the firſt of March, which day, he had heard, Cæſar's friends intended to move for conferring Royalty on him. Brutus having anſwered that he ſhould not be there; "But how will you act," replied Caſſius, "if we ſhould be perſonally cited?" "My duty "then, ſaid Brutus, will teach me not to be ſilent, "but to defend the cauſe of liberty, though death "ſhould be the conſequence." Theſe words encouraged Caſſius, who now made no ſcruple to explain himſelf. "And is there a Roman living," replied he with ſome warmth, "who will ſuffer you to die "before him? Can you poſſibly be ſo ignorant of "your worth? or can you think that the inſcriptions "which you have read on your Tribunal were laid "there by the mob and people of no conſequence, "and not by the principal and moſt dignified perſons "in the Republic? Let other Prætors diſplay their "munificence, and exhibit public ſhows and com- "bats of Gladiators: from you it is expected, as a "debt due to your name and to the glory of your an- "ceſtors, that you effect the deſtruction of tyranny. "All the honeſt citizens are ready to run all hazards "in your defence, if you will but convince them that "they may depend upon you." After this explanation, Brutus heſitated no longer to enter into their propoſals; and from that moment his and Caſſius's

thoughts were wholly employed in aſſociating a number of friends, whoſe fidelity and courage could be relied on. A. R. 708 Ant. C. 44.

Ligarius, who had been ſome time before accuſed, and acquitted, in the manner I have related, was the firſt to whom Brutus made his application. He knew that Cæſar's clemency had not ſo much weight with Ligarius as the affront which had been given him; and that his reſentment was as ſtrong as ever againſt the perſon who had made him ſenſible of his danger, before he thought fit to extricate him. Brutus therefore paid him a viſit, and finding him in bed, on account of ſome indiſpoſition, "My dear Ligarius," ſaid he to him, "what a time do you chuſe to be ſick in?" Ligarius, whether he had already been informed of their deſigns, or that the natural dictates of his heart prompted his judgment, immediately underſtood his meaning, and raiſing himſelf on his elbow, replied; "If, Brutus, you are forming any deſign worthy of "you, I am well."

Ligarius was imitated by ſeveral others, who, as well as he, had been old partiſans of Pompey, and could not forgive Cæſar for having defeated them. That an enemy, notwithſtanding any apparent reconciliation, ſhould relapſe, is no ways aſtoniſhing; but what muſt be matter of ſurpriſe to every body, tho' at the ſame time it will ſerve as an inſtance that an unjuſt uſurper, however brilliant may be his qualifications, cannot be certain of any one perſon's affection, is, that ſeveral of Cæſar's friends, men who had been all along attached to him, and had ſerved him from the breaking out of the war in Gaul, to the defeat of Pompey's children, entered into the conſpiracy. And it is to no purpoſe for Seneca to aſcribe their change to an inſatiable avarice, which no rewards could ſatisfy. This reaſon perhaps might hold good with ſome, and might influence their determination. But that thoſe who had all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with the returns Cæſar made them; that a Trebonius and Decimus Brutus ſhould engage in an attempt

Sen. de Ira, III. 30.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. attempt upon his life; the former of whom had been Conſul, and the latter was to be in two years time, and was actually ſet down in Cæſar's will as one of his collateral heirs: what inducement could they have, but a thorough ſenſe of his oppreſſions and injuſtice to the Republic, and an inclination to free their country from a Tyrant who meditated its ruin?

The managers of the conſpiracy obſerved great circumſpection and reſerve in the choice of their confidents; ſo that though Cicero was ſtrongly in their intereſt, and notwithſtanding there was no doubt of his fidelity, or zeal to ſerve them, yet they did not think fit to intruſt him with their deſign, leſt his natural timidity, augmented by the damp of years, might be ſtarting obſtacles; and his too great warineſs and precaution might retard an enterprize which had need of the utmoſt diſpatch. Without doubt Cicero bore great enmity to Cæſar, but it had never carried him ſo far as to tempt him to engage in a conſpiracy againſt his life. And when his nephew Quintus, whoſe character and diſpoſition were equally deteſtable, endeavoured to prejudice him by inſinuating to Cæſar's friends, that it would not be improper to be on their guard againſt him, Cicero ſaid in a letter to Atticus, "I ſhould * be apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſuch a diſcourſe, if I did not perceive that our Tyrant is ſenſible of my want of courage."

Statilius, whom I have mentioned in my account of Cato's death, as threatening not to ſurvive him; and Favonius, that ſervile imitator of Cato; ſeemed to be made on purpoſe to enter into a conſpiracy againſt Cæſar. However, Brutus did not think fit to come directly to the buſineſs with them, but by dropping ſome hints touching the preſent adminiſtration, had a mind to ſee how they ſtood affected. And finding they did not anſwer his expectation, he

* Φιλεῖρὶν ἦν, niſi viderem ſcire regem, me animi nihil habere. Cic. ad Att. XIII. 37.

diſcon-

diſcontinued the conference, under pretence that the ſubject was too intricate, and ſo left them. Favonius had advanced, that a civil war was a greater evil, even than an unjuſtifiable ſubmiſſion to the tyranny of one perſon: and Statilius, purſuing the Epicurean principles, which he profeſſed, was of opinion that it ill became a man of ſenſe, to expoſe himſelf to dangers and fatigues, to pleaſe a ſet of knaves and fools. Labeo, who was preſent, declared himſelf of a contrary opinion, and endeavoured to confute them. Whereupon Brutus judging him worthy of his confidence, privately made him acquainted with his intentions, and found him apt and ready to join the avengers of liberty. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Labeo informed D. Brutus of the plot, and endeavoured to engage him in it. This Brutus was a man of no remarkable reſolution, nor by any means qualified for any hazardous enterpriſe. But it was judged he might be ſerviceable to the Conſpirators on account of the great familiarity betwixt him and Cæſar: beſides, as he intended ſhortly to preſent the people with ſome public ſhews, he was provided with a conſiderable body of Gladiators, who might prove uſeful in the confuſion which the Dictator's death would at firſt infallibly create. Accordingly Labeo and Caſſius made their propoſals to him: but he returned them no anſwer, till having conſulted M. Brutus, and found that the affair was to be under his direction, he made no difficulty to be of the party.

The conſpirators had alſo ſome thoughts of making the ſame propoſal to Anthony, who was on very good terms with ſeveral of them. But Trebonius oppoſed it, aſſuring them they would never ſucceed. He told them that he had ſome time ago, at Narbo, ſounded Anthony; when Cæſar was on his return from the laſt Spaniſh war. That Anthony very well underſtood his meaning; but did not ſeem inclined to engage with him: though he was ſure he had inviolably kept his ſecret. Whereupon ſome, running from one extreme to the other, propoſed killing Plut. Brut. & Anton.

ing

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. ing him with Cæſar, as being a man of an haught inſolent, tyrannical temper, who might do the much diſſervice, by influencing the troops, and b the power which his office of Conſul inveſted hi with. But Brutus declared himſelf againſt it, as h piqued himſelf on preſerving from all reflections o injuſtice, an enterprize, which in his opinion wa founded on juſtice, and only undertaken in defence o their liberty and laws. Beſides, he did not deſpair tha Anthony, whoſe ſentiments were noble and generous would, as ſoon as Cæſar ſhould be no more, be ſen ſible of the glory of reſtoring liberty to his country By this means Brutus ſaved Anthony: and it wa agreed, that at the time the blow was to be given, car ſhould be taken on ſome pretence, to get Anthony ou of the way, that he might not be a ſpectator of Cæſar' death.

Suet. Galba. c. 3. By the extraordinary aſſiduity of Brutus and Caſſius the number of the Conſpirators amounted to upward of ſixty, all perſons of diſtinction, being either Knight or Senators: the chief of whom, beſides thoſe have already named, were Servius Galba, who ha ſerved as Lieutenant-General under Cæſar in th Gauliſh war, and who was become his enemy, ac cording to Suetonius, becauſe he had refuſed him th Conſulſhip: Servilius Caſca and his Brother, Tillius Cimber, Minucius Baſilus: all of whom had becom Partizans of Pompey, when Pompey was no more Among thoſe who had always been enemies to Cæſar hiſtory principally mentions Caſſius of Parma and Pontius Aquila. The reſt, who, as I have ſaid, compleated the number to ſixty, are either totally un known, or at moſt only by name.

Plut. Brut. Nor was there one among them who in any reſpect betrayed the confidence repoſed in him, either by ſhewing any diffidence, inconſtancy, or by any kind of indiſcretion; though they were not bound by any oath, but wholly confided in each other's word.

Sen. Ep. 83. Nor could wine itſelf extort the ſecret from Tillius Cimber, though he was remarkably addicted to drink,

drink, and who once jokingly ſaid, ſpeaking of his darling vice, "How can it be expected that I, who "cannot bear wine, ſhould bear with Cæſar!" A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

A woman alſo was let into the ſecret; or rather, having half diſcovered their deſign, ſhe compelled them to a confeſſion. This was the noble Porcia, whoſe conſtancy was no ways unworthy the glory of her father Cato, or the reputation of her huſband Brutus. As this latter had taken upon him the management of ſo hazardous an enterprize, wherein were engaged all the virtuous and noble part of Rome, whoſe fortunes depended on his conduct, he was ſufficient maſter of his paſſions to preſerve an air of ſerenity free from all ſuſpicion during the day-time and in public: but when he retired to his family and during the night, he could not maintain the ſame conſtancy, and his wife perceived that his breaſt laboured with ſome great deſign, ſome agoniſing care, which he endeavoured to conceal. As ſhe loved her huſband tenderly, ſhe was deſirous to ſhare with him in his inquietude. But before ſhe demanded any explanation from him, ſhe reſolved to make a very extraordinary trial of her own conſtancy. She took a ſmall knife, and having ſent her women out of the room, ſtabbed herſelf with it into the thigh. The wound bled copiouſly, and the anguiſh which attended it, was quickly ſucceeded by a fever. Brutus was in the utmoſt conſternation, and knew not what to think. Then Porcia, in the extremity of her ſufferings, addreſſed him in the following manner: "Brutus, I am Cato's daughter, and was given you, "not merely to ſhare your bed and table as a miſ-"treſs, but to partake of your good or ill fortune. "Your behaviour to me has been irreproachable. "But how can I ſerve you, or in what manner can I "prove my ſenſe of your goodneſs, unleſs in aſſiſting "you to ſupport a latent uneaſineſs, and to calm "your diſturbed quiet? Why then am I denyed your "confidence? I know that women in general have "no great reputation for ſecrecy: but a good edu-

"cation

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. "cation and ſuitable company have a great influ-
"ence on the diſpoſitions and tempers, even of wo-
"men: and who has a better right to make a merit
"of theſe advantages than Cato's daughter and Bru-
"tus's wife? However, I relied not ſo much on what
"is paſſed: but am now ſatisfied, that pain itſelf
"cannot get the better of my courage." On concluding theſe words ſhe ſhewed him the wound ſhe had given herſelf, and at the ſame time declared to him her motive for ſo doing. Brutus was wrapt in wonder and admiration of her conſtancy, and with uplift hands implored the Gods, that by ſucceeding in his enterprize, he might attain the reputation of being an huſband not unworthy of Porcia. He afterwards communicated to her the whole ſcheme of the conſpiracy, and had no reaſon to repent the confidence he repoſed in her, and which ſhe had ſo well deſerved.

Suet. Cæſ. 80. The plot being ſo far advanced, there was no time to be loſt; wherefore Brutus, one night, aſſembled all who were in the ſecret, and who were to have any ſhare in the execution; and at that time they adjuſted all their meaſures. It had been debated whether they ſhould attack Cæſar in the field of Mars, whilſt he preſided at the election of the Magiſtrates, or coming into the Theatre, or in the ſacred ſtreet leading to the Capitol: but they concluded to kill him in full Senate. Which determination appeared doubly advantageous to them; firſt, as they had an opportunity of aſſembling without giving any umbrage, being almoſt all Senators; and in the next place, as they expected being inſtantly ſeconded and ſupported by the principal perſons in the Republic, who, they hoped, as ſoon as the Dictator ſhould be ſlain, would publickly eſpouſe the cauſe of liberty. The circumſtance of the place where the Senate was to aſſemble, the day of the ides of March, appeared to them of good omen, and even to have ſomething preternatural in it; it being an apartment built by Pompey, contiguous to his Theatre, and bearing his

his name, and within ornamented with his ſtatue: ſo that the Conſpirators were of opinion that the very Gods had taken care to bring Pompey his victim. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

All theſe intrigues could not be conducted ſo ſecretly, as not to give ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion. Cæſar received information of their nightly meetings, and he began to have ſome of Brutus and Caſſius. For one day when he was cautioned to be on his guard againſt Anthony and Dolabella. "Oh! ſays he, it "is not thoſe plump, jolly, well-dreſſed fellows that "I am afraid of: it is of your pale meagre ones." Under which deſcription he glanced at Brutus and Caſſius. Brutus in particular appeared formidable to him, on account of his courage, the ſeverity of his morals, and the number of his friends. But then when he reflected on his mildneſs and probity, his apprehenſions inſtantly diſappeared: and once when he was adviſed not to truſt him too far, "What! (ſays he, clapping his hand to his body) do "you imagine that Brutus will not ſtay till this de-"bilitated carcaſe has finiſhed its career?" He thought that after him no one had better right, than Brutus, to expect the principal poſts of honour and power in Rome. Plut. Cæſ. & Brut. & Anton.

Had Cæſar been diſpoſed to give credit to prodigies or predictions, hiſtorians relate ſeveral events which might have alarmed him, and have ſerved as a caution to him to be on his guard: unleſs we ſuppoſe theſe facts to have been for the moſt part invented, or at leaſt not taken notice of till after his catastrophe. But he did not even give any attention to a very extraordinary and circumſtantial prediction, which portended his life's being in danger for the ſpace of thirty days, to the ides of March inclusive. In his way to the Senate he met the very Soothſayer, by name Spurinna, who had acquainted him with this prediction, and in a jocoſe manner obſerved to him that the ides of March were come. "It is true, replied the Soothſayer, but not gone." Perhaps this man might have had ſome intelligence of the intend- Suet. Cæſ. 81. Plut. Cæſ.

A. R. 708 Ant. C. 44.

ed conſpiracy: or may be, he by accident ſtumbled on the truth, which has ſometimes happened, in the profeſſion of an art the falſhood of whoſe foundation is not to be diſputed.

Nor muſt I here omit an expreſſion of Cæſar, which was looked upon as ominous, after his death, and has ſomething remarkable in it. The evening before his aſſaſſination, he ſupped with Lepidus. Where, as he was ever very moderate in his diet and never unemployed, whilſt the reſt were at ſupper, he amuſed himſelf with reading, and ſorting ſome letters he had received. Some of the company happened to put the queſtion, what death was moſt eligible. Cæſar broke off reading, and anticipating the reſt, ſaid, "that which is leaſt expected." And the very thing happened to him which he ſeemed to deſire. Yet he was very near being kept at home and eſcaping the danger, by the entreaties of his wife Calphurnia, who was terribly alarmed at a frightful dream ſhe had had.

She dreamed that ſhe ſupported him in her arms all bloody and covered with wounds: which occaſioned her to ſob ſo piteouſly, that Cæſar overheard her. When they roſe, ſhe conjured him by all that was tender, to ſtay at home and not go to the Senate. Calphurnia's apprehenſions made ſo much the ſtronger impreſſion on her huſband, as he had never obſerved in her the leaſt inclination to ſuperſtition: and not being very well, he was almoſt perſuaded not to go. Whereupon ſacrifices were made and Augurs conſulted, who all declared the ſigns they found in the entrails to be of ill omen.

Cæſar therefore gave orders to Anthony to go and diſmiſs the Senate. But Decimus Brutus, who happened to be preſent, inſiſted ſtrongly on the contrary. He was ſenſible, that the meaſures of the Conſpirators, of whom he was one, would thereby be entirely defeated; and that there was reaſon to apprehend, that if once their enterprize failed, it would be diſcovered. He repreſented to the Dictator, "that he furniſh-

his enemies with arms againſt himſelf. That the Senate, whoſe intent of aſſembling was to confer on him the title of King, and the Sovereignty of all the Provinces beyond Rome and Italy, would take ſuch a delay extremely amiſs, and as an affront meant to them. That ſhould it be told that auguſt Aſſembly, that they muſt defer their deliberations till Calphurnia ſhould have more favourable dreams, every body would conſider it as an act of tyranny, nor would it be poſſible for Cæſar's friends to convince his accuſers that he did not intend to reduce them to a ſtate of ſervitude. And laſtly, that if no arguments could diſſuade him from proroguing the Aſſembly, he had better go himſelf and propoſe it to the Senate." Decimus concluded his diſcourſe by taking him by the hand, and as it were led him out of his houſe. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

This inſtant was of the utmoſt importance to the Conſpirators: for the ſecret was diſcovered, and Cæſar had like to have been acquainted with it. When he came out of his houſe, there was a ſlave who endeavoured to ſpeak to him; but not being able to come near enough to him by reaſon of his many attendants, he went into the houſe, and deſired Calphurnia to ſecure him till Cæſar's return, he having ſomething to communicate to him of very great importance.

In his way to the Senate he received a circumſtantial account of the whole conſpiracy, which was actually delivered into his hands; but he had no opportunity to read it. Artemidorus the Greek Philoſopher, who aſſiſted ſeveral of Brutus's friends in the proſecution of their ſtudies, had made ſeveral fatal diſcoveries. He drew up a memorial of what he had diſcovered, and joined the perſons who preſented their petitions to Cæſar. But obſerving that the Dictator delivered each paper as ſoon as he received it, to a ſecretary, he came cloſe up to him, and as he delivered his memorial, ſaid to him, "Read this, and loſe no time: For it concerns you much." Cæſar kept the memorial; but by reaſon of the numbers

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. which ſurrounded him, and to whom he was obliged to give audience, it was not poſſible for him to read it, and he entered the Senate-houſe holding it in his hand.

Plut. Brut. There the Conſpirators were ready to receive him. Brutus had come there alone, unaccompanied: the reſt had attended Caſſius, whoſe ſon had that day entered into man's eſtate and taken the cuſtomary habit; and after the ceremony they all met in Pompey's portico, where the Senate had been convened.

Plutarch obſerves that any ſpectator, who had known the ſecret, muſt have been ſtruck with admiration at the reſolution and intrepidity of theſe men, who, though they were upon the point of executing ſo hazardous an enterprize, yet maintained a ſerenity in their looks and actions, as if they intended nothing more than ordinary. Some of them were Prætors, and actually ſat as judges, hearing the pleadings with all the preſence of mind imaginable, diſcuſſing what points aroſe in the proceedings, and giving ſuch judgment as the nature of the caſe required. And when a perſon, whom Brutus had condemned, threatened to appeal to Cæſar, Brutus replied with great indifference, "Cæſar neither does, nor will prevent my ſeeing the "laws obſerved."

However, ſeveral accidents happened, capable of creating a confuſion among the conſpirators. The firſt and principal was Cæſar's delay in coming, occaſioned, as I mentioned, by Calphurnia's fears. Then Caſca, one of the Conſpirators, had like to have divulged the ſecret, through an ambiguous compliment that was paid him. One of his acquaintance came up to him, and ſaid, "You thought to be very "ſecret, but Brutus has acquainted us with the whole "affair." Caſca thought this man had been informed of their deſign, and had he immediately replied, the whole had been diſcovered. But this ſurprize gave the other time to add with a ſmile, "What then, "my friend, are you all on a ſudden grown rich "enough to ſtand for the Edility?" Theſe words

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compoſed Caſca, who trembled to think of the danger his inadvertency had like to have led him into. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Brutus himſelf had a moſt violent ſhock to ſuſtain; word being brought him, that his wife, who had been for ſome time indiſpoſed, was at the point of death. Porcia, who had drawn the ſecret from her huſband, in the manner I have related, when the important moment approached for putting it in execution, was ſeized with a moſt deadly panic. The leaſt noiſe alarmed her: ſhe enquired of every body who came from the city if any accident had happened to Brutus, and ſent meſſenger after meſſenger for information. However, as there happened ſome delay in the execution, ſhe was unable any longer to ſupport her concern. She grew pale, and preſently loſt her ſenſes; and her attendants with difficulty got her into her chamber, where they put her to bed. It was judged ſhe could not ſurvive; and an account of this accident was immediately ſent to Brutus. He was much concerned, but not ſo far as to be drawn off from his preſent purpoſe. The intereſt of the cauſe which he had taken upon him to patroniſe, was ſuperior to any private concern, how tender and affecting ſoever.

At this inſtant Cæſar arrived: and that the Conſpirators might not be free from alarms to the laſt moment, they perceived a Senator, Popillius Lænas, who went up to the Dictator as ſoon as he came out of his litter, and ſpoke to him for a conſiderable time with much emotion. The Dictator ſeemed to hear him with great attention. Now this Popillius Lænas ſome time before had come to Brutus and Caſſius, and ſaid to them: "I wiſh your deſign may ſucceed, "and adviſe you not to defer it: as there are ſeve-"ral private accounts of it." From this diſcourſe they thought Popillius was no ſtranger to their deſign: and when they ſaw him ſpeak to Cæſar, they and their friends, to whom they had communicated what Popillius had ſaid to them, made no doubt of their being diſcovered and betrayed. An univerſal

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. conſternation reigned among them: they looked at each other, and agreed by ſigns not to wait till they were ſeized, but to kill themſelves to prevent the ignominy of a public puniſhment. Already Caſſius and ſome others had laid their hands on the daggers they carried concealed under their robes, when Brutus, obſerving from the geſture and attitude of Popillius that he appeared rather as a ſuppliant than an accuſer, quickly perceived his error: and as he had no opportunity of ſpeaking to his aſſociates in ſo mixt a company, he, by the ſerenity of his looks, and compoſure of his countenance, endeavoured to make them underſtand that they had nothing to fear. In effect, after ſome minutes further converſation, Popillius kiſſed the Dictator's hand, and retired, and Cæſar came into the Senate.

Suet. Cæſ. 82. Plut. Cæſ. & Brut. All the Senators roſe from their ſeats to receive him, and the Conſpirators ſurrounded him, and conducted him to the curule chair; whilſt two of them, Decimus and Trebonius, ſtopped Anthony at the door of the hall, amuſing him with ſome fictitious ſtory of their own invention. Tillius Cimber appeared at the head of thoſe who encircled Cæſar, pretending to ſollicit that his brother, who was in exile, might have liberty to return to Rome: and all the reſt ſeconded him with great earneſtneſs, and took hold of Cæſar's hands, under pretence of kiſſing them, in order to excite his compaſſion. The Dictator, however, could not be prevailed on, and perceiving himſelf crouded, endeavoured to riſe. Whereupon Cimber laid hold of his robe with both his hands and ſtripped it from his ſhoulders, which was the ſignal agreed on: and as Cæſar was ſaying, "This is no "acting like ſuppliants; this is open violence;" Caſca, who was behind his chair, ſtabbed him in the ſhoulder; though very ſlightly, his hand trembling in the beginning of ſo hardy an enterpriſe. Cæſar turned about, and perceiving Caſca, "Wretch," ſaid he, "what are your deſigns?" and at the ſame time wounded him in the arm with the ſtile of a tablet he had

had in his hand. Caſca immediately called to his brother, in Greek, to come to his aſſiſtance. Then all the Conſpirators drew their daggers, and Cæſar, in endeavouring to get from them, received a ſecond wound in the breaſt, which after his death was judged by the phyſicians to be the only mortal one, of all that were given him. Notwithſtanding his loſs of blood, and the upliſted daggers which threatened his immediate deſtruction, he did not give himſelf up to any mean fear, but ſtood undaunted, like a lion, in the midſt of the hunters. Some ſay that he did not ſpeak a ſingle word. But others aſſert, that when he perceived Brutus coming up to him with a drawn dagger in his hand, he thus tenderly reproached him: "What then, my ſon, are you alſo of the number?" And immediately after, covering his head, and ſpreading his robe before him, in order to fall with the greater decency, he ſubmitted to be murthered, without making any reſiſtance. They were all deſirous of ſharing in the honour of the action; and even after he had fallen to the ground, their reſentment continued ſo ſtrong, that they had no regard to their own ſafety; as appears by Brutus, who received a wound in the hand. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Cæſar received three and twenty wounds, and fell before Pompey's ſtatue. Whether this circumſtance was entirely accidental, or that his murtherers had purpoſely dragged him there, it, however, did not paſs unobſerved; and all who had any regard for Pompey's memory, took a pleaſure to imagine him, as it were, a witneſs of the revenge taken on his enemy, who was murthered at his very feet.

It is remarkable that Caſſius, who was an Epicurean, and conſequently believed the ſoul to be mortal, yet in order to encourage himſelf to the action, addreſſed his looks to the ſtatue, and as it were invoked Pompey, as ſtill capable of intereſting himſelf in the tranſactions of this world. Natural affection, at that inſtant of enthuſiaſm, had got the better of

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. reflection, and made him forget his profeſſed principles.

Cæſar's murder, at the time it happened, occaſioned a diverſity of opinions; ſome conſidering it as an heroic action, and others eſteeming it an unpardonable crime. And this diviſion of ſentiment in ſome meaſure ſubſiſts to this very day; Cæſar's many good qualities inſpiring many with a reſentment to his murtherers; at the ſame time that thoſe, who profeſs themſelves enemies to injuſtice, oppreſſion, and an unlimited ambition, are inclined to applaud Brutus for what he did.

This whole affair ſeems to turn on two queſtions. Whether Cæſar deſerved death; and whether thoſe who killed him had a right ſo to do.

As to the firſt, I find no difficulty. There is a wide difference between parts, and virtue. Never man poſſeſſed all the qualities which conſtitute the hero, in a higher degree than Cæſar: but never man made a greater abuſe of them. If it may be allowed that whoever by violence ſubverts the government under which he happens to be born, deſerves death; if, in a Monarchy, the ſubject who dethrones his King, merits the ſevereſt puniſhment; can it be doubted, that in a Republic, the citizen who appropriates to his own uſe the authority of the ſtate, is an Uſurper and a Tyrant, and ought to forfeit his life, for daring to violate the laws? Had it been poſſible to impeach Cæſar, and let him fairly take his trial, I cannot think any one would have blamed the judges for condemning him.

But becauſe a man deſerves death, it does not follow that every one indifferently has a right to kill him. No criminal is puniſhable but by the proper magiſtrate, and his power is limited by the laws. To permit every private perſon to kill a man becauſe he thought him a tyrant, would be putting a ſword into the hands of fanatic fury, to the deſtruction of Princes whoſe right of inheritance, and perhaps the ſervice

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they had done their country, would be no protection againſt an inſult on their lives. The many fatal examples our hiſtory furniſhes of this horrid bigotry will be ever recent in our memories. The light of reaſon alone, independent of Chriſtian morality, which from its firſt inſtitution has been averſe to all effuſion of blood; I ſay, reaſon alone ſeems to me ſufficient to condemn all tyrannicide, notwithſtanding the pagan antiquity eſteemed it meritorious. Brutus therefore was culpable for having arrogated a power which only belonged to the Republic and its laws. He puniſhed a criminal, unordered and unimpowered, and conſequently, ſo far from being eſteemed the lawful avenger of the liberties of his country, he ought to be conſidered no better than an homicide. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

We may further add, from Seneca, "that his action * was no leſs imprudent than unjuſtifiable, and that at the very time he engaged in it, there was an utter impoſſibility, as affairs were then circumſtanced, that his hopes ſhould ſucceed. For what grounds had he to expect the reſtoration of liberty, in a city, where power on the one hand, and ſubjection on the other, equally found their advantage? or to imagine that the Republic would reſume its ancient form of government, when its members had no longer any remains of their original probity? or laſtly, that any regard ſhould be paid to equity and the laws, in a country where he had ſeen ſo many thouſand men embroiled, not to repel ſlavery, but for the choice of a maſter? He either very little underſtood human nature, or was very little acquainted with the hiſtory of his own country, not to perceive that from the aſhes of one tyrant, another would ſpring up; and

* Brutus in hac re videtur vehementer erraſſe... qui ibi ſperavit libertatem futuram, ubi tam magnum præmium erat & imperandi & ſerviendi; aut exiſtimavit civitatem in priorem formam poſſe revocari, amiſſis priſtinis moribus; futuramque ibi æqualitatem civilis juris, & ſtaturas ſuo loco leges, ubi viderat tot millia hominum pugnantia, non an ſervirent, ſed utri. Quanta verò illum aut rerum naturæ, aut urbis ſuæ tenuit oblivio, qui uno interempto, defuturum credidit alium qui idem vellet? SEN. de Benef. II. 20.

that

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. that the greateſt happineſs which could befal Rome, would be to have ſo mild and merciful a maſter as Cæſar." The ſubſequent events are but too ſtrong a proof of what has been here obſerved; and we ſhall find, that till the Empire was thoroughly ſettled, Rome underwent ſo many calamities, that it never enjoyed ſo great tranquillity as when under Cæſar's dominion.

He himſelf had foretold as much; and as he often diſcourſed on the dangers to which his life was expoſed, Suetonius * relates that he frequently ſaid, that his ſafety was not of ſo great importance to him, as to the Republic. That for his own particular, he had acquired glory and power, ſufficient: but, if any accident ſhould happen to him, the Republic would inſtantly loſe all its tranquillity, and be more fatally involved in civil wars than ever.

Cæſar was killed in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and he was forty years old when he began the conqueſt of Gaul: So that the great actions which have immortaliſed his name, and the proofs which he has given of a genius and capacity more than human, are compriſed in the ſpace of about fourteen years. He was born to command mankind, if great qualities were alone ſufficient, and ſuperior to right. Had his birth or a regular election placed him on the throne, he were an example to be imitated by all Sovereigns. But his private conduct would be a very bad model; his whole life being a continued ſcene of rapine and extortion, luxury and profuſion, and a devotion to all kinds of ſcandalous debaucheries.

* Ferunt dicere ſolitum, non tam ſua, quàm Reipublicæ intereſſe ut ſalvus eſſet. Se jampridem potentiæ gloriæque abunde adeptum: Rempublicam, ſi quid ſibi eveniret, neque quietam fore, & aliquanto deteriore conditione civilia bella ſubituram. SUET. Cæſ. 86.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Cæſar's death occaſions a great conſternation in the Senate and among the people. The Conſpirators take poſſeſſion of the Capitol. They are favoured by the Senate. A conſiderable body of the people and the ſoldiery declare for Anthony and Lepidus, the chiefs of the contrary party. Brutus endeavours to appeaſe the people, and treats with Anthony. The Senate meets, and decrees that Cæſar's death ſhall paſs unrevenged, but that his acts ſhall be confirmed. His will is to take place, and his funeral is ordered to be celebrated with all imaginable honours. Reconciliation between Brutus and Anthony. The Governments of the provinces conferred on the principal Conſpirators. Cæſar's will opened. The people's affection towards him revives. His funeral. Anthony ſpeaks his funeral oration. The people's reſentment to the Conſpirators. Helvius Cinna is miſtaken for the other Cinna, Cæſar's enemy, and torn to pieces. Anthony endeavours to regain the Senate. He procures a decree to prevent any abuſe being made of Cæſar's memorandums or papers. Aboliſhes the Dictatorſhip. Puts the pretended Marius to death, who excited the people to mutiny. Aſſiſts the re-eſtabliſhment of Sextus Pompeius. The Senate grants him a guard, which he extends to ſix thouſand men. He vends forged acts, publiſhed in Cæſar's name, and, by that and other means, amaſſes immenſe ſums of money. Brutus is in want of troops and money. The project of a military cheſt for the uſe of the Conſpirators fails by Atticus's refuſal. They endeavour to ſtrengthen their party in the provinces. The Conſpirators quit Rome. Anthony takes their Governments from them; gives Syria to Dolabella, and takes Macedonia for himſelf. Octavius's arrival at Rome diſconcerts his ſchemes.

SUCH

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Suet. Cæſ. 82. & ſeq. Plut. Cæſ. & Brut. & Anton. Appian. Civ. l. II. Dio, l. XLIV.

SUCH was the horror and conſternation of the Senate, during the execution of the Conſpirators deſign on Cæſar, that it continued ſilent and motionleſs; nor was there one among them who either thought of ſecuring his own ſafety by flight, or of aſſiſting the Dictator: But as ſoon as Cæſar was killed, when Brutus brandiſhing his bloody poignard in the air, attempted to harangue the company, and particularly addreſſed himſelf to Cicero, they inſtantly broke up in the utmoſt confuſion: they made the ſhorteſt way to the doors; they eagerly preſſed which ſhould get out the firſt: they fled without being purſued. For it had been agreed by the Conſpirators in council that no one ſhould be killed but the oppreſſor of the Republic, and that all the citizens ſhould be ſummoned to liberty. Anthony and Lepidus, who judged they had moſt to fear from their known friendſhip and intimacy with the Dictator, took ſhelter in the neighbourhood; from whence, the firſt having laid aſide all conſular marks, retreated to his own houſe, which he immediately put in a ſtate of defence; the other went to Tiber-iſland, where there happened to be a legion, which he marched into the field of Mars. In an inſtant the news of Cæſar's death ſpread itſelf through the city, and occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion: All the ſhops were immediately ſhut: many took to their arms, and hoping to turn the preſent troubles to their own advantage, as there are never wanting ſuch on the like occaſions, began to plunder and commit all ſorts of outrage: ſo far as to wound, and even kill ſome of the Senators. The Conſpirators did not think it proper to increaſe the diſorder, by putting in execution what they had at firſt intended in relation to Cæſar's body, which was to drag it to the Tiber. They contented themſelves with leaving it expoſed to the view of an infinite crowd of people, whoſe curioſity brought them to ſee it: and after a certain time the body of this man, who a moment before made the whole univerſe tremble, was taken

taken up by three ſlaves, being all that remained of his numerous retinue, and put into his litter; but with ſo little decency, that all the way to his houſe his arm hung out at the litter door. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Brutus and his friends, being thus deſerted by the Senate, endeavoured by themſelves to appeaſe and gain the multitude. They marched out of the Senate-houſe in great order towards the Forum, their left arms folded in their robe, and in their right hands holding the bloody dagger; and they cauſed a cap to be carried before them at the end of a lance, as an emblem of liberty. They adviſed all they met to be under no apprehenſions, but to think of enjoying the liberty they had juſt procured them. Their decent behaviour and their peaceable diſcourſe in ſome meaſure produced a calm. But Brutus did not think it ſafe, abſolutely to confide in the then preſent diſpoſition of the people: he rather choſe to retire with his aſſociates to the Capitol, under pretence of returning thanks to Jupiter, and he made himſelf maſter of the place through the aſſiſtance of Decimus's Gladiators. There were ſome who in their march joined the Conſpirators, being deſirous to be thought of their number. But no body was ſo far deceived by them: and without reaping the fruits of their vanity, they paid dearly for it in the end; being compriſed, by Cæſar's avengers, in the penalty of an action, which the public would never allow them the honour of having committed.

Cicero was for having the Prætors convene the Senate to the Capitol: and the advice was good. That auguſt aſſembly almoſt generally deteſted Cæſar, by whom they had been ſo frequently degraded. They in their hearts wiſhed well to his murtherers, and it was only their fear and ſurprize which had prevented their declaring for them at firſt. As ſoon as that ſubſided, had they been aſſembled, they had certainly taken the moſt advantageous meaſures for Brutus's cauſe, and in which they themſelves were no leſs intereſted. Perhaps, from the circumſtances, Cicero's advice Cic. ad Att. xiv. 10.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. advice was at that time impracticable; if ſo, the greater the Conſpirators misfortune. But if it were poſſible, how great was their imprudence to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity!

However, there were ſome Senators who came to confer with them at the Capitol, and particularly Dolabella, who claimed the Conſulſhip from Cæſar's death. He was to have entered into that office, as I have already obſerved, upon the Dictator's ſetting out for the Parthian war. As the place became vacant by Cæſar's death, Dolabella thought he had a right to the faſces: and I do not ſee any thing to the contrary. But it certainly very ill became him to declare againſt his benefactor's memory: the more ſo, as his motive was not any zeal for liberty, but the mere effect of ambition, and a conformity to the times. Nor was he long ſtaunch to his new party: for after ſome ſteps taken for their ſupport, the wind happening to change, he veered about, and became their moſt bitter enemy.

Though Brutus and his friends were ſupported by all the conſiderable perſons in Rome; yet it did not prevent the oppoſite party's becoming conſiderable. Anthony and Lepidus, who undertook to revenge Cæſar's death, or rather under that pretence concealed their ambitious and tyrannical deſigns, were ſupported by the majority of the people, and by all the military force in the city. Luckily for Brutus, their number was not conſiderable. Beſides, Anthony had another very great advantage, in having ſecured Cæſar's papers and effects, which had been delivered to him by Calphurnia. As both parties ſtood in fear of each other, and moreover as the Chief of the party which at that time appeared the ſtrongeſt, from his natural mildneſs and moderation, had his whole thoughts turned on peace, the buſineſs ſoon became a matter of negotiation: and Brutus employed the very day of Cæſar's death and the following, to endeavour to gain Anthony and the multitude.

Being

Being ſurrounded by a great number of citizens in the Capitol, he harangued them with that fund of good ſenſe and of virtuous maxims, ſo natural to him; but not with ſo much force and vehemence as Cicero could have wiſhed. However, his diſcourſe had ſo much ſucceſs, that he ventured to come down from the Capitol, accompanied by Caſſius. He mounted the Roſtra; addreſſed the people in general, and was heard with ſilence and reſpect. But the Prætor L. Cornelius Cinna ſpoilt every thing by his extravagance and want of decency. He railed againſt Cæſar in a moſt outrageous manner: and went ſo far as to ſtrip himſelf of his ornaments of office, which he ſaid he had received from a Tyrant, in breach of the laws. But the people, who had a veneration for Cæſar's memory, expreſſed their indignation by their ſhouts and menaces to Cinna. This accident intimidated Brutus, and he immediately returned to the Capitol. He was even under apprehenſions of being beſieged there: and as a great many perſons of diſtinction had followed him, in order to aſſiſt him with their advice, and to ſhew their affection towards him, he took care, from that ſpirit of equity which influenced all his actions, to diſmiſs them; not being willing to involve thoſe in any danger, who had had no ſhare in the tranſaction which might poſſibly prove fatal to him. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. ad Attic. XV. 1.

However, he ſtill negotiated with Anthony by the mediation of ſome perſons of conſular dignity, and by their means various meſſages paſſed between them. But Cicero would by no means be engaged in it. He even adviſed the negotiators not to truſt Anthony, who, as long as he was under any apprehenſions, would promiſe every thing, but would reſume his uſual character as ſoon as the danger was over. However, it was agreed that both parties ſhould ſubmit to the deciſion of the Senate, which was to be aſſembled the next day, the 17th of March, in the temple of the Goddeſs Terra. The Conſpirators were ſenſible how well the Senate was affected to them, and for that Cic. Phil. II. 89.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. that reaſon they ſubmitted to its determination with no leſs joy than confidence. But Anthony poſted ſoldiers at all the avenues of the Temple, who, under pretence of ſecuring the quiet of the aſſembly, empowered him to influence and govern it pretty near to his wiſh.

The firſt thing to be conſidered was, what treatment Cæſar's Murtherers were to have. As ſoon as the debate began, the whole Senate was in confuſion. The importance of the ſubject, the warmth with which it was diſcuſſed, add to this the uncommon ſatisfaction of delivering their opinion with freedom after four years reſtraint, all theſe cauſes produced a great diverſity of ſentiments. Some (among whom was Ti. Nero, the huſband of Livia and father of the Emperor Tiberius) were of opinion that Brutus and his aſſociates ought to receive honours and rewards. Others, without taking notice of any rewards, which was what the very Conſpirators did not expect, returned them ſolemn and public thanks. And the leaſt favourable were for granting them impunity. But there were ſome who obſerved, that before any thing could be determined relating to the Conſpirators, it was neceſſary previouſly to examine into Cæſar's character and memory, becauſe the treatment which his Murtherers were to receive depended on what idea they might have of him. The drift of this argument was to have Cæſar declared a Tyrant: and Anthony, who perceived their deſign, and found that the majority were ſtrongly diſpoſed ſo to do, ingeniouſly ſtarted an objection which had never been thought on, and which nevertheleſs was obvious.

Suet. Tib. 4.

He repreſented that if Cæſar was declared Tyrant, it was neceſſary that all his acts and ordinances ſhould be repealed: which was impracticable, becauſe thoſe acts affecting the whole Empire, the inevitable conſequence of their abrogation would be an univerſal confuſion. "But without extending our views ſo far, "added he, let us begin by ſettling one ſingle article. "All of us, who are the leading men of the Senate, "have

"have received favours from Cæſar: and it is to him "we are indebted for the dignities and employments "we have had, now have, or hope ſhortly to enjoy. In "what manner ſhall we adjuſt this point?" A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

This reflection of Anthony totally changed the face of affairs. The ſubject of their debate appeared in a new light; and thoſe who imagined they were only to paſs their judgment on Cæſar, perceiving that their own perſonal intereſt was no leſs concerned, grew more moderate in their reſentment. There were many of them whoſe nomination had by no means been regular, and for whoſe ſervice the Dictator's power had ſupplied the legal qualifications. For inſtance, Dolabella had been made Conſul, without being either of the proper age, or having paſſed the Prætorſhip. And he and all who were in the like circumſtances were apprehenſive of the riſk they run of ſeeing themſelves ſacrificed. It was to no purpoſe that the zealots obſerved to them, that there was no intention to ſtrip them of their poſts, but only to confirm them therein by a legal authority. In vain did ſome who were actually intereſted ſet them the example, and declared themſelves willing to reſign any favours they had received from the Dictator; in hopes of loſing nothing by ſuch a reſignation. The far greater number were for running no hazards, nor for riſking the certain advantages they then poſſeſſed, on the uncertain events of popular votes.

This altercation laſted a long time; and while the Senate was thus employed, Anthony and Lepidus, if we may credit Appian, left the houſe, to try how far they might rely on the mob which was aſſembled in the Forum. But finding them divided, and that the peaceable party ſeemed to counterbalance the party which was for revenging Cæſar's death, Anthony determined to give up ſomething for the preſent, and wait a more favourable occaſion.

He therefore reſumed his diſcourſe, and adviſed the Senators to reflect, from the difficulty they met with to ſettle one ſingle point, what would be the

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. confuſion they would cauſe in the Empire, if they pretended to repeal all Cæſar's acts. He particularly inſiſted on the hazard they run in relation to the veterans, ſome of whom already compoſed powerful colonies, where they had been incorporated; and the reſt, who no leſs expected to be recompenſed, made a great clamour in Rome, and had the preceding night been at all the Senators houſes, threatening their deſtruction if they were not ſhortly provided for and ſettled. He deſired to know if common prudence would allow them to undertake in the face of thoſe old warriors, whoſe affection to Cæſar was ſo well known, ignominiouſly to drag his body to the river, which muſt be done if he was declared Tyrant. And concluded, that ſince for the ſake of public tranquillity all thoughts muſt be laid aſide of revenging his death, that ſame conſideration obliged them to ratify all his acts.

This medium, which ſeemed to unite all their intereſts, was generally approved. Each party obtained in ſome meaſure what they wanted; and were apprehenſive, by inſiſting on more, to loſe the whole. Anthony perceived the Senate too much inclined in favour the Conſpirators to think of compelling them to do any thing to their prejudice: and the Senate having no troops at hand, was not in a condition to force Anthony to deſert Cæſar's memory. This was the inducement to a coalition, which was ſure of ſubſiſting no longer than while each party ſtood in fear of the other. Plancus, who was in nomination for the Conſulſhip for the third year after that which we are now treating of, ſupported Anthony's opinion.

Cic. Phil. I. 1. And Cicero was alſo of the ſame way of thinking, and ſet it off with all the graces of his eloquence, citing the example of the Athenians, who on quitting a painful ſervitude, had found no other remedy for their misfortunes, than to order, that no reſentment ſhould be taken of what was paſſed. Conformable to this was the Senate's decree, who unanimouſly reſolved, that there ſhould be no enquiry made into Ca-

Μὴ μνησικακεῖν.

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ſar's death, and that his acts ſhould be confirmed. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.
It is true, the Conſpirators friends procured this clauſe to be added, that this confirmation was granted for the ſake of the public utility: which implied, that in their own opinion Cæſar's acts were null and invalid. But Anthony having the eſſential of what he deſired, would not litigate a point which he knew well enough did not affect him. They alſo inſerted an article in this decree, which confirmed the diſtribution of the lands promiſed to the veterans. Laſtly, as Anthony and Dolabella were at variance, inſomuch that the former refuſed to acknowledge the other as his Collegue, they were intreated to cloſe the public harmony by a reconciliation: to which they conſented.

Without doubt, this accommodation, which ſettled the grand affair of the Conſpirators, was not concluded without the aſſiſtance of Brutus and Caſſius, though they were at that time in the Capitol. And I am apt to think, from the manner Cicero expreſſes himſelf in a letter to Atticus, that the whole had been concerted the preceding evening, and that the Senate only ſtrengthened by its authority the treaty which had been previouſly drawn up by the leading men of the two parties. And I think the ſame opinion may be formed of the regulation made concerning Cæſar's will and funeral, which, however, was the ſubject of a very warm debate. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 10.

Piſo, Cæſar's father-in-law, was charged with the execution of his will. Several came to him, and inſinuated that he would do better to ſuppreſs it, and bury him privately. But finding that fair means would not avail, they made uſe of threats, telling him he ſhould be reſponſible for ſquandering an immenſe ſum of money which properly belonged to the Republic. This was ſuppoſing Cæſar a Tyrant, and conſequently his eſtate and all his poſſeſſions became an eſcheat, and were liable to confiſcation. Whereupon Piſo loudly demanded the protection of the Conſuls. "What means this tyranny, ſaid he, in thoſe

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. "very perſons, who pretend to have freed us from "a Tyrant. They deny the laſt honours to an High-"prieſt; they threaten me if I publiſh his will; and "pretend to confiſcate his effects. Obſerve the folly "of theſe men! who expect the continuation of what "Cæſar has granted to them, and would annul the "diſpoſitions he has made of what immediately be-"longed to himſelf. Gentlemen, the manner of "Cæſar's funeral is entirely in your own breaſts, but "his will is in my poſſeſſion: and I ſhall not betray "the truſt which has been repoſed in me, unleſs ſome "one ſhall be hardy enough to ſend me to the grave "after him." It was impoſſible, after having con-firmed Cæſar's acts relating to public affairs, to deny him the free diſpoſition of his private effects; or not to allow him the right of burial, as ſoon as he had been declared to be no Tyrant. Beſides, the affair had been diſcuſſed with Brutus, who, notwithſtand-ing Caſſius's oppoſition, had conſented to every thing. Piſo therefore carried his point. He was left at liberty to open Cæſar's will and carry it into execution; and the Senate decreed, that the Dictator's body ſhould be honoured with a public funeral, that is, authoriſed and defrayed by the ſtate.

Brutus's too great facility led him on this occaſion into a very great error, and made him act directly oppoſite to his intereſt. Caſſius was certainly in the right to oppoſe Cæſar's funeral. The perſons of the greateſt diſcernment among them were of the ſame opinion: and Atticus in particular ſtrenuouſly inſiſt-ed, that the cauſe was ruined, if Cæſar received the honours of a funeral. Either Brutus was not aware of this conſequence, or judged ſo favourably of An-thony, as to imagine that a little complaiſance would gain him to their party. A moſt unpardonable im-prudence. For the caſe was far different from that wherein he ſaved Anthony, for fear of exceeding the bounds of juſtice. And he certainly now had as good a right to oppoſe Cæſar's burial, as to kill him.

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However, this conduct at firſt proved advantageous to him. As Anthony no longer oppoſed him, at leaſt to all appearance, Brutus had an opportunity of entirely appeaſing the people, and of ſatisfying the veterans. After having cleared himſelf, in a long harangue, from the odious imputations of parricide and perjury, and after having promiſed Cæſar's veterans to put them in poſſeſſion of all they could hope for, he was applauded by the whole aſſembly; who declared they thought it but reaſonable that ſuch illuſtrious perſons, endued with ſo much courage and patriotiſm, ſhould be confirmed in their prerogatives, and reſtored to their dignities. However, they would not quit the Capitol till ſureties were given for their ſafety: and the children of Anthony and Lepidus were accordingly delivered to them as hoſtages. They then came into the Forum in the midſt of the acclamations of the people: and as a mark of their perfect reconciliation, Anthony took Caſſius to ſup with him, and Lepidus did the ſame by Brutus, whoſe ſiſter he had married. The evening was ſpent with great freedom, gaiety, and familiarity. Only upon Anthony's jokingly aſking Caſſius, if he had ſtill a poignard under his robe; "Yes, replied Caſſius, I have, and Dio.
"a ſharp one, which I ſhall not ſcruple to make
"uſe of againſt you, if you purſue the ſteps of him
"I have killed."

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

The next day the Senate again aſſembled, at which the Conſpirators were all preſent. Their whole proceedings ſhewed a perfect harmony. Anthony received commendations for having by his prudence and conduct ſuppreſſed a civil war in its infancy: and Cæſar's Murtherers received more ſolid advantages: The principal Provinces of the Empire were put into their hands: and whether by virtue of a preceding regulation made by Cæſar, or otherwiſe, the Government of Macedonia was conferred on Brutus, that of Syria on Caſſius, Aſia properly ſo called was given Appian. Civ. l. III.
to Trebonius, and Bithynia to Tillius Cimber. D. Brutus was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Ciſalpine

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Gaul, the neareſt Province to Rome, and garriſoned by good veteran troops, who had ſerved under Cæſar. This decree for the diſtribution of the Provinces, on account of its conſequences, will prove of very great importance.

Suet. Cæſ. 83. This calm was of no longer continuance than till the opening of Cæſar's will, which was done in Anthony's houſe. Cæſar thereby appointed his ſiſters ſons to be his heirs, that is, young Octavius to ſucceed to three parts, and the remaining fourth to be divided equally between Q. Podius and L. Pinarius. And towards the concluſion of his will he adopted Octavius. There was a circumſtance which pleaded greatly in his favour, and flung a ſtrong obloquy on the Conſpirators, which was, that ſeveral of them were thereby appointed the Guardians of his ſon, in caſe he ſhould have one; and to D. Brutus he had bequeathed the reverſion of his eſtate in default of his firſt appointed heirs.

His legacies to the people greatly gained their affection. He left them the uſe of his gardens near the Tiber; and bequeathed 300 * Seſterces to every Citizen. This liberality had its effect with the mob. And their ordinary diſcourſe was, that it was unjuſt to brand Cæſar with the name of a Tyrant; as no man had ever ſhown more affection for his countrymen, or more concern for the State.

His funeral, which was executed with the utmoſt magnificence, cauſed a freſh diſturbance. The body was expoſed in the middle of the Roſtra, on a bed of purple and gold: and near the head, a Trophy was erected, covered with the robe in which Cæſar was killed. The body was placed in a kind of little temple, which was entirely gilt, and had been built on the model of the temple of Venus Mater. The funeral pile was erected in the field of Mars; whither a ſurpriſing concourſe of people of both ſexes and of all conditions reſorted, to offer up ſomething precious

* Two pounds ſix ſhillings and eleven-pence halfpenny.

be burnt with the body. But the funeral oration, with which the ceremony began, was, according to cuſtom, to be delivered from the Roſtra. This was undertaken by Anthony. A. R. 708. Ant C. 44.

He acquitted himſelf in ſuch a manner as plainly indicated, that in conſenting to an accommodation with Brutus, he had only complied with the neceſſity of the times. He begun by reading the Senate's decrees which had conferred all kinds of honours on Cæſar, and had declared his perſon ſacred and inviolable. He next put them in mind of the oath which they had all taken, not only not to attempt his life, but to defend him againſt all kind of violence. He thus artfully revived in their breaſts their affection to Cæſar, and their averſion to his Murtherers. As ſoon as he perceived that the train had taken fire, and that the people began to be in a ferment, he puſhed things to an extremity, and neglected nothing which might urge them to vengeance. He preſented to his audience Cæſar's bloody robe; and as he unfolded it, he took care they ſhould obſerve the number of ſtabs in it. Laſtly, in order to preſent them with a yet more affecting idea, as he could not ſhew them the body itſelf, which lay on the bed of ſtate, he ſupplied one of wax, as big as the life, and wounded in the ſeveral places where Cæſar had been ſtabbed. This image moved by ſprings, ſo as to be able to turn any part to view. Appian. Civ. l. II.

This ſight, which Anthony accompanied with the moſt pathetic lamentations, completed the people's reſentment. It knew no bounds. Some were for burning the body in the Chapel of Jupiter Capitolinus: others in the hall where Cæſar had been aſſaſſinated. However, the authority of the Prieſts and Magiſtrates prevented theſe exceſſes, which might have been the ruin of the fineſt and moſt ſacred edifices in Rome. At this inſtant two armed men came up to the bed of ſtate, which had been brought down into the Forum, and ſet fire to it. In order to form a pile, the mob put in practice the ſame thing they had

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. had done nine years before in relation to Clodius, and pulled up the ſeats of the judges, the counters of the bankers and ſhop-keepers, and in a word whatever wood they could lay their hands on. They then flung into the fire the gifts and offerings, and all the pompous decorations of the funeral. The ſoldiers alſo caſt in their arms, and ſome of them their crowns, or other military honours. The very ladies could not refuſe to ſacrifice their ornaments to Cæſar, and they made their children to do the ſame. By this time the flame became ſo violent as to reach the houſe of a perſon of diſtinction, named L. Bellienus, which was thereby conſumed: and ſeveral other both ſacred and profane buildings had run the ſame riſk, had not the Conſuls prevented it by a proper diſtribution of troops in the Forum.

Nor was this all. Several were exaſperated to madneſs, and with firebrands in their hands ran to the Conſpirators houſes, in order to burn them. But as they were prepared to receive them, they thought proper to retire, threatening to return the next day with proper arms.

This furious zeal, which animated the populace againſt Cæſar's Murtherers, proved fatal to one of his friends. Helvius Cinna, that Tribune whom I have twice had occaſion to mention, came but late to the ceremony, having been deterred by a dream he had had the preceding night, and which had even given him a feveriſh diſorder. He thought he ſaw Cæſar, who invited him to ſupper, and upon his refuſal, ſeized him by the hand and dragged him into an abyſs. Notwithſtanding this dream had had a violent effect on his mind as well as body, yet he was determined not to fail paying his laſt devoirs to Cæſar. On his arrival, unluckily ſomebody called him by his ſirname of Cinna. Which being heard by ſome who did not know him, they miſtook him for the Prætor Cornelius Cinna, who ſome few days before had declaimed indecently againſt the Dictator's memory. He was immediately ſurrounded and ſeized, and notwithſtanding

withſtanding his proteſtations that he had no other connection with Cornelius Cinna than the name, he was pulled to pieces on the ſpot. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Such were the effects of the funeral oration pronounced by Anthony in honour of Cæſar; with which he might have been ſatisfied, if he had no other motive than to revenge the death of his friend and benefactor. But as doubtleſs his own intereſt was what moſt nearly concerned him, perceiving that he had thereby incurred the Senate's diſpleaſure, he reſolved to regain that powerful aſſembly, whoſe aſſiſtance he had ſtill great need of. For which purpoſe he did ſeveral acts which declared him a zealous Republican, and ſeemed for ſome time to have forgot Cæſar, and to be entirely taken up in contriving his country's good, and in the ſupport of liberty and the tranquillity of the public. The following inſtances moſt remarkably evince this his new plan of conduct.

I have mentioned that Cæſar's papers and memorandums were in Anthony's poſſeſſion. As he had not delivered in any inventory of them, it was in his power to procure the paſſing of any act of his own contrivance, under the Dictator's authority; and the law would have ſupported him, as Cæſar's acts had been confirmed by a decree of the Senate. By this means the Conſul was empowered to grant whatever privileges, immunities, or rewards he thought proper, either to towns, or to particular perſons. It is true, he in proceſs of time carried this abuſe to the utmoſt exceſs: but at this time, whether to prevent any apprehenſions of this kind, or to make a ſhew of his attention to the public good, he inſiſted, at the requeſt of Ser. Sulpicius, that a decree ſhould paſs, importing that from the ides of March, no ordinance ſhould be publiſhed in Cæſar's name, for granting either exemption or privilege to any one whatever.

This firſt ſtep was highly pleaſing to all who had any regard for good order and the laws. Anthony took a ſecond, which ſeemed to prove an uncommon attention to the liberty of the Republic; this was the

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. the abolition of the Dictatorſhip. He reſerved the honour of this action entirely to himſelf. For he did not propoſe the affair, as had been cuſtomary, to the Senate's deliberation, but he brought the decree with him ready drawn up, whereby the title and office of Dictator was for ever aboliſhed, with imprecations againſt any one who ſhould attempt to revive it, and a power for any citizen to attack and kill him with impunity. This, as may be perceived, was indirectly caſting a ſlur on Cæſar's memory, and not only eſtabliſhing and confirming the preſent liberty, but ſecuring it againſt any future attempts.

At the ſame time he was no leſs ſerviceable to the Senators, in ſuppreſſing, by a bold ſtroke, a ſeditious mob, which might have proved fatal to them. The Dictator's aſhes having been collected by his freedmen and depoſited in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, the people erected an altar on the place where his corpſe had been burnt; and near the altar, a marble pillar twenty foot high, with this inſcription: *Patri Patriæ*. There public worſhip was paid to Cæſar: vows and oaths were confirmed by a ſolemn invocation of his name: and libations and ſacrifices were there offered.

The mob which daily aſſembled in this place, was ſo much the more formidable, as it was headed by a man of a daring ſpirit, who for ſome years had endeavoured to be taken notice of, and to raiſe himſelf, by a groſs impoſture, above his fortune. He was of mean parentage, and named Amatius: but from the reſemblance of the name, he pretended to be the famous Marius's grandſon, and ſon of him who was ſlain at Prænesſe, and had been made Conſul when he was but twenty years old. Conſequently he claimed a relationſhip to the Cæſars: and even during the Dictator's life-time he had been hardy enough to broach his falſity, and cunning enough to make it ſucceed to a certain point. Inſomuch that ſome ladies related to Cæſar, acknowledged him; and he had already gained a great number of partiſans. This hap-

pened when Cæſar was engaged in the laſt Spaniſh war. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Amatius at that time put young Octavius's prudence to an hazardous trial. Being informed that this favourite nephew of the Dictator was coming to Rome, he went as far as the Janiculum to meet him, attended by all his followers, and demanded to be treated and acknowledged as a relation. Octavius was not a little embarraſſed. He knew the impoſture, and was cautious not to authoriſe it by any act which might ſeem an acknowledgment from him. On the other hand, there might be ſome hazard in denying a man ſo well attended. He therefore wiſely choſe a medium: "Cæſar, ſaid he to the impoſtor, is the "head of our family, as well as of the Empire. You "therefore ſhould apply to him, if you would be ac-"knowledged as a relation. His deciſion will be an "abſolute order to me, to which I ſhall ſubmit with-"out heſitation." Nic. Damaſc. de Inſtit. Aug.

When Cæſar returned to Rome, Amatius, ſo far from concealing himſelf, had the inſolence in ſome meaſure to vie with him: and when the Dictator permitted the people to come and compliment him in his gardens, this wretch placed himſelf under an adjacent arcade, where he had almoſt as numerous a court. Val. Max. IX. 15.

Cæſar ſoon put an end to this farce. He enquired into the hiſtory of this man, and being informed he was nothing better than a farrier, baniſhed him Italy.

After Cæſar's death, Amatius appeared again in Rome: he renewed his practices with the mob; and pretending a zeal to avenge Cæſar's death, he began already to threaten his Murtherers, and even all the Senators, whom he flung into the utmoſt conſternation. Anthony delivered them from this danger. The pretended Marius was ſeized by his order, and ſtrangled in priſon. This military execution was matter of aſtoniſhment to the Senate: but the benefit ariſing to them from thence, effaced the irregularity of the proceeding.

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A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

The commendations beſtowed on Anthony on this occaſion induced Dolabella to compleat what his collegue had begun. For Amatius's death had not entirely reſtored peace to the City. The populace, though deprived of their chief, did not forbear publickly to pay religious homage to Cæſar's memory. Dolabella was determined to cut this evil to the quick: he overturned the altar and pillar, diſperſed the multitude, and having ſeized the moſt mutinous, he cauſed all who had the freedom of the city to be flung down the Tarpeian Rock, and ordered the ſlaves to be crucified. In this manner he ſhared with Anthony the approbation of the Senate; and this his exploit was particularly celebrated by Cicero, his former father-in-law.

Cic. ad Att. xiv. 17.

The laſt proof of Anthony's complaiſance to the Senate, at the time which immediately ſucceeded Cæſar's death, was the readineſs with which he conſented to the re-eſtabliſhment of Sextus Pompeius, whoſe name was infinitely dear to almoſt all who then compoſed that aſſembly. This unfortunate heir of ſo illuſtrious a family did not wait his enemy's death ere he attempted ſomething towards the re-eſtabliſhment of his fortune. After having led for ſome time a vagabond life, as I have mentioned, in the mountains of Celtiberia, he made it his application to aſſemble the ſcattered remains of the battle of Munda; and having alſo collected ſome other forces, he no longer kept himſelf concealed, but even ventured to ſeize ſeveral towns in the open country; and notwithſtanding he was ſucceſſively attacked by two of Cæſar's Lieutenants, Carrinas and the famous Pollio, he made ſhift to defend himſelf againſt them both, and with ſome advantage. Already his affairs were in a tolerable ſituation, when he received advice that the Dictator had been killed in the Senate. This news encreaſed his hopes, and ſtrengthened his party: and he made no ſcruple to write to Rome, deſiring leave to return into his native country, and to be reſtored to his poſſeſſions; and that all the troops might be

be diſbanded throughout the Empire. Anthony ſeconded his pretenſions: except that inſtead of reſtoring him his patrimony, a great part of which he himſelf was either in poſſeſſion of, or had ſquandered, he propoſed giving him two hundred millions of Seſterces out of the public Treaſury, and moreover to appoint him Commodore of the ſeas, as his father had formerly been. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Senate. And yet, for ſome unknown reaſon, the affair remained in ſuſpence, nor was concluded till ſome months after by Lepidus's means, who as Proconſul of Citerior Spain, was naturally charged with this negotiation. They granted Sextus all the terms propoſed by Anthony, and even more. For the equivalent allowed him for his patrimony amounted to ſeven hundred millions of Seſterces: an immenſe ſum, which plainly ſhewed that the Senate's intention was to arm the ſon of Pompey, and not ſimply to indemnify him. Sextus thereupon quitted Spain, but did not return to Rome. He made uſe of his title of Commodore or Super-intendant of the ſeas, for the aſſembling all the veſſels he could meet with in the ports of Spain and France, on the Mediterranean ſide; and he remained ſome time at Marſeilles to ſee what turn affairs would take. When he ſaw the Triumvirate forming, he ſeized on Sicily, where, as we ſhall hereafter obſerve, the outlaws found the ſafeſt aſylum.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. ad Att. xvi. 4. l. 1562500. Vell. II. 79. l. 5468750. Cic. Phil. XIII. 12.

I return to Anthony, who aſſumed an ariſtocratic and republican zeal, but who ſoon made it appear that he had no other intereſt than to ſatisfy his ambition. By all the actions I have juſt given an account of, in proportion as he ingratiated himſelf with the Senate, he forfeited the eſteem of a great part of the multitude, who ſtill preſerved an attachment and even veneration for Cæſar's memory. This ſerved Anthony as a pretence to be apprehenſive of ſome inſult, and to apply for a guard to protect his perſon: which the Senate had no ſooner granted him, than they had cauſe to repent it. For the Conſul, inſtead of a guard,

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. guard, formed a little army, amounting to about ſix thouſand men, which he picked out of the veterans, and put under the command of experienced officers. So that under pretence of freeing himſelf from an inquietude, which was little more than chimerical, he became a real uneaſineſs to the too credulous Senators.

Cic. Phil. II. 92, 98. At the ſame time he gained creatures, and raiſed immenſe ſums by means of forged acts which he uttered in Cæſar's name. And not regarding the decrees which he himſelf had procured on this account, he every day produced an infinity of pretended ordinances of Cæſar, which granted immunities, favours and privileges of all kinds; which conferred the right of Roman citizens, not only on particular perſons, but on whole cities; which alienated the public revenue; which recalled ſeveral who were in exile; in a word, which decreed whatever Kings, States, Citizens, or Strangers could obtain from Anthony through their credit, or could purchaſe with their money. And on this occaſion he loſt all ſenſe of ſhame. For having at his command one of Cæſar's Secretaries named Faberius, who had been uſed to counter-ſign theſe kinds of acts, he only informed himſelf what profits were likely to ariſe from the letters which were applied for: and the impoſture was ſometimes ſo groſs, that Cæſar was therein made to ſpeak of events which actually happened after his death. However, this kind of fraud was to him a mine of gold. And there * was nothing that Anthony was not ready to ſell, provided a buyer offered. So that at his houſe money went not by tale, but by weight. If therefore you add one hundred millions of Seſterces which Calphurnia paid him immediately after Cæſar's death, and ſeven hundred millions which the Dictator had depoſited in the Temple of the

Plut. Anton. Cic. Phil. II. 93.

* Nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor. Cic. Phil. II. n. 97.

Tanti acervi nummorum apud iſtum conſtruuntur, ut jam appendantur, non numerentur pecuniæ. Id. ibid.

God

Goddeſs Ops, and which Anthony ſeized, ſome idea may be formed of his riches; and conſequently what a power he had to ſucceed in whatever he pleaſed to attempt. He was beſides ſupported by his two brothers, one of whom was Prætor, and the other Tribune: and he had gained Lepidus, by procuring him the office of Pontifex Maximus in the room of Cæſar. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Dio.

When he had well taken his meaſures, he reſolved to attack Brutus and Caſſius, to whom he had till then paid a very great regard. Theſe two Chiefs of the Conſpiracy had always been favorites with the Senate; but having never purſued any indirect meaſures, and depending on the protection of the laws, they had taken no care to provide themſelves with either troops or money. Some indeed of their friends thought to raiſe them a kind of military cheſt, from a voluntary aſſeſſment of the Roman Knights. The thing was propoſed to Atticus, who on account of his riches, credit, and intimacy with the principal perſons in the Republic, might inconteſtably be reckoned in the firſt rank of the Knights. Beſides, he had always been a ſtaunch friend to Brutus, and a ſtrong Republican. However, he refuſed entering into the ſcheme, contenting himſelf with perſonally offering to Brutus all that he was worth, but ſaid he was determined to avoid all appearance of faction and cabal: a very inſufficient reaſon under ſuch a government and in ſuch times as he then lived. Upon Atticus's refuſal the affair dropt, and the Conſpirators thereby became conſiderable ſufferers.

Cornelius Nepos, the author who mentions this fact, here takes an opportunity of beſtowing great encomiums on Atticus's prudence and diſcretion. But the exceſſive admiration with which his hero ſeems on all occaſions to affect him, greatly detracts from his judgment. For my own part, I ſee no action throughout Atticus's life which lays him more open to cenſure, or can better authoriſe the ſuſpicions of a celebrated modern writer, who would have him

conſi-

A. R. 704. Ant. C. 44. conſidered as a man entirely taken up with his own intereſt, who kept well with all parties, and had no affection for any. However, I do not pretend to condemn Atticus, nor to have the ſame ſentiments of him as the Abbé de S. Réal. Perhaps Corn. Nepos has not ſo thoroughly explained the circumſtances of the fact in diſpute, as to enable us to form a true judgment of it. He is certainly an elegant writer, but far from being an extraordinary genius: and in abridging the facts, it may often have happened that he has retrenched more than he intended.

Be it how it will, Brutus and Caſſius, who had no forces they could immediately make uſe of, ſaw with regret the progreſs of Anthony's power, and were jealous of his intentions. They were alſo not a little alarmed at the great number of Cæſar's veterans, which came to Rome from all parts. They therefore thought themſelves under a neceſſity of putting their party in a ſtate of defence: and as three of their aſſociates had provinces aſſigned them, and no objection could be made to their going immediately to take poſſeſſion of them; to wit, D. Brutus of Ciſalpine Gaul, Trebonius of Aſia properly ſo called, and Tillius Cimber of Bithynia; they perſuaded them to * ſet out with all expedition, at the ſame time recommending it to them to make a ſufficient proviſion of men and money.

Cic. Phil. II. 31. But they were extremely embarraſſed in relation to themſelves. For being at that time Prætors, they were obliged to reſide in Rome, particularly Brutus, who had the city-quarter under his juriſdiction, and therefore could not be abſent above ten days together. The Governments of Macedonia and Syria had been aſſigned them, but not till after the expiration of their Magiſtracy. So that nothing could exceed their perplexity. If they ſtaid in Rome, their lives were ex-

* Appian ſuppoſes them already ſet out, and ſays that Brutus and Caſſius wrote to them. But the ſubſequent facts, and the authority of Cicero with reſpect to Trebonius in particular (XIV, ad Att. 10.) have induced me to tell the ſtory different.

poſed to the reſentment of Cæſar's ſoldiers. And on the other hand, it would be indecent, and irregular in them to quit it. However, they fixed on the latter. Anthony juſtified the irregularity, by procuring Brutus a diſpenſation from the people for non-reſidence: and the Senate endeavoured to obviate any reflexions that might be made on their departure, or rather their flight, by giving them a commiſſion to raiſe, in Sicily and Aſia, the proviſions of corn neceſſary for the city. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

They had ſcarcely quitted Rome before Anthony unmaſked, and undertook to ſtrip them of their governments. As they were upon all accounts the two beſt in the empire; he therein found a double advantage, in taking them from his adverſaries, and in beſtowing them according to his inclinations. However, he did not care to ſet out by acting directly for himſelf, and he perſuaded his Collegue to aſk for Syria, which had been aſſigned to Caſſius. On the Senate's refuſal, Dolabella, who expected no leſs, had recourſe to the people: and with Anthony's aſſiſtance, who by virtue of his authority ſilenced a Tribune of the contrary party, carried his point. This firſt ſtep gained, emboldened Anthony, who by the ſame means procured the province of Macedonia for himſelf. However, not to break through all meaſures with men of ſuch conſequence as Brutus and Caſſius, he conſented that the Senate ſhould grant them, by way of indemnification, to the one Cirene, and to the other the iſle of Crete; which provinces were by no means an equivalent for thoſe which had been taken from them.

In this manner Anthony made known his intentions, and endeavoured, by deſtroying the Republican party, to raiſe himſelf. It is plain his hopes were to ſucceed Cæſar: and perhaps he might have carried his point, if he had not been interrupted by a rival, who, though he was not near equal to him in years, yet far exceeded him in experience. It is plain I mean Octavius, who happened to be abſent from

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Rome at the time of his uncle's death, but was no ſooner informed of it than he ſet forward with all expedition. His arrival is a very important Æra, as it ſtill more embroiled affairs, increaſed factions, and confounded intereſts. The matter is copious, but from the multiplicity of facts, muſt coſt an author ſome pains to avoid confuſion: however, I ſhall endeavour to be as little obſcure as poſſible.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTY-SEVENTH.

OCTAVIUS, adopted by Cæsar's will, begins to interfere in affairs, and declares for the Senate in opposition to Anthony. Brutus and Cassius acquire great forces in the provinces. The war of Modena. Anthony's fall and rise. Anno Romæ 708, 709.

SECT. I.

The Conspirators imprudent conduct the cause of Anthony's rise. Octavius comes and forms a party. From Apollonia, where he first heard of his Uncle's death, he comes into Italy and takes the name of Cæsar. He tries his skill, by deceiving Cicero, who joins him. His Mother is not able to prevail on him to renounce the succession to Cæsar. His first interview with Anthony, who receives him very ill. He wants to be made Tribune of the people: but Anthony prevents it. He gains the multitude by his liberality, and by the feasts he gives them. Comet during Octavius's sports. He sells all his inheritance from Cæsar. Difficulties started by the Consul. Their falling out and reconciliation.

Octavius is accuſed by Anthony of an attempt to have him aſſaſſinated. They take arms. Anthony ſends for the Macedonian legions into Italy. He affects to be popular. Octavius gains his Father's veterans. Brutus and Caſſius quit Italy and go beyond ſea. Porcia and Brutus's ſeparation. Cicero ſets out on a voyage to Greece. But changes his mind and returns to Rome. Cicero's firſt Philippic. His ſecond Philippic. Anthony being come to Brunduſium offends the ſoldiers by his ſeverity. He arrives at Rome with the legion called the Larks. *He there ſtrikes a terror. Troops aſſembled by Octavius. He is forſaken by the greateſt part of them. He recovers them by his prudence and mildneſs. Two of Anthony's legions come over to Octavius. Anthony leaves Rome, and undertakes to make himſelf maſter of Ciſalpine Gaul, which D. Brutus was in poſſeſſion of. The forces of Anthony, of Decimus, and of Octavius. Octavius tenders his ſervice to the Senate againſt Anthony. They accept his offer. Cicero's laſt engagements with Octavius. A decree of the Senate which authoriſes Decimus and Octavius's military preparations. Anthony beſieges Decimus in Modena. State of the Republican party in Italy. Brutus and Caſſius go to Athens. Brutus engages the young Roman ſtudents into his ſervice, among others Cicero's ſon and the Poet Horace. He in a ſhort time raiſes a powerful army, and makes himſelf maſter of Greece, of Macedonia and the adjacent countries. Caſſius goes into Syria, whilſt Dolabella ſtops in Aſia Minor, where he puts Trebonius to death. Caſſius makes himſelf maſter of Syria and of twelve legions. He is commiſſioned by the Senate to carry on the war with Dolabella, whom he reduces to ſuch ſtreights that he kills himſelf. The horſe Sejanus. State of all the Roman armies. The diſpoſitions of their Commanders. Paleneſs of the Sun during the whole year of Cæſar's death. Servilius Iſauricus's death. A remarkable inſtance of his gravity.*

THE

THE rapid advancement of Anthony, who at the inſtant of Cæſar's death had appeared ſo terrified and diſconcerted, and in the ſpace of a few weeks had attained the head of affairs, and reduced the Chiefs of the Republican party to the neceſſity of quitting Rome, was entirely owing to the imprudent conduct of the Conſpirators. They were ſatisfied with having taken very right meaſures for killing Cæſar, but had made no preparations for the neceſſary conſequences of ſo extraordinary an event. Inſomuch that every freſh incident embarraſſed them, and they were often as it were forced to chuſe the worſt ſide. So that though they had ſubverted the modern form of Government, yet they had done nothing towards eſtabliſhing the ancient one. "* The Tyrant is dead, ſaid Cicero, and yet we are not free. Our Heroes have done much to their own honour, but nothing for their country, or for us. O what a glorious exploit, but unfortunately left imperfect!" A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Nay further; the confirmation of Cæſar's acts, to which they had given their conſent, made his authority ſubſiſt even after his death. Cicero was not a little concerned at this. "Good† Gods! cries he, the Tyrant is dead, and yet Tyranny flouriſhes. We could not endure him for a maſter, and yet we reſpect as laws, all the papers that are found at his houſe, after his death. We muſt ſubmit to be aſked, What! dare you oppoſe Cæſar's will? and wherever we go, we are continually reminded not only of his orders, but of his minuteſt thoughts."

* Interfecto rege liberi non ſumus. Noſtri ἥρωες quod per ipſos confici potuit glorioſiſſimè & magnificentiſſimè confecerunt: reliquæ res opus & copias deſiderant, quas nullas habemus. Illi quoquomodo beati, civitas miſera. Ω πράξιτε καλὰς μὶν, ἀτελὲς δὶ. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 11. 4. 5. 12.

† O Dii boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit! Cui ſervire ipſi non potuimus, ejus libellis paremus. Ut audeant dicere, "Tu ne contra "Cæſaris nutum!" Quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæſaris non modo acta, ſed cogitata revocamur. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 9. 14. 10. 17.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Anthony, as we have found, miſapplied Cæſar's name for an infinite number of things, which the Dictator never ſo much as thought of, and would not have done, if he had lived. It is therefore with reaſon that Cicero ſcruples not to ſay, that "* the managers of the Conſpiracy had the heart of a man and the underſtanding of a child."

He lays the whole † blame on Brutus, for letting Anthony live, who might have been killed at the ſame time as Cæſar. Who knows not that remarkable expreſſion of his in two of his letters, one to Trebonius, the other to Caſſius: "I wiſh I had been ‡ invited to that exquiſite repaſt of the Ides of March! there ſhould have been no leavings." But beſides that juſtice and humanity on this occaſion defend Brutus's conduct, Anthony had not yet diſcovered himſelf: and § Cicero himſelf at firſt conſidered him, rather as a perſon capable of directing a banquet, than of forming any pernicious projects. Brutus's fault was in imagining all the world to be animated with the ſame ſentiments as himſelf againſt Cæſar, and in the behalf of liberty: without recollecting, that the people for a long time had been accuſtomed to ſell themſelves to the higheſt bidder; that the ſoldiery were attached to Cæſar, through gratitude, admiration, and intereſt; and that the Senate itſelf, though the moſt uneaſy with its ſubjection, and more benefited by a Republican government than any other body of the ſtate, contained a great number of avaricious perſons, whoſe concern for the public good was abſorbed by the hopes of making their fortunes, and aggrandiſing themſelves.

Brutus thought he had to do with thoſe ancient Romans, zealous for liberty, and ready to ſacrifice

* Acta illa res eſt animo virili, conſilio puerili. Id. ibid. 11.

† Hæc omnis culpa Bruti. Cic. ad Att. XV. 20.

‡ Quàm vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitaſſes! reliquiarum nihil haberemus. Cic. ad Fam. X. 28. vid. XII. 4.

§ Antonium ego epularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quàm quidquam mali cogitare. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 5.

them-

themſelves to ſerve their country. He perſuaded himſelf that, as ſoon as Cæſar was diſpatched, the machine of Government, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, would work again of itſelf, when the obſtacle which impeded its motion was removed. This was being extremely ignorant of the times he lived in, and of the men he had to do with, and conſequently being deficient in that part of knowledge the moſt eſſential to the manager of any important enterpriſe. He ought to have had forces to compleat the execution of his project. This was Cicero's opinion, and to confirm it he appeals to Brutus himſelf in a letter wrote long after. "The * moment after the execution, ſays he to him, you only thought of peace, which could not poſſibly be procured by any negotiation: I only thought of liberty, which it is true cannot ſubſiſt without peace; but it was always my opinion that the work of peace could not poſſibly be effected but by a war." Had Brutus followed this advice; had he, on the one hand, taken the advantage of the conſternation Cæſar's death had flung all his friends into; and on the other, had he made a proper uſe of the zeal of a great number of citizens, who were ready to take up arms in favour of Rome's Deliverers, he might have reſtored the ancient Republic, at leaſt for a time. But for want of being convinced of the neceſſity of having recourſe to that only method, he ſuffered Anthony to become formidable, and gave young Octavius an opportunity of ſlipping between them, to deſtroy them both, and reap the whole advantage of the revolution. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Nobody would have thought that a young man, who was not quite nineteen years old, could have made ſo extraordinary a figure, on the grandeſt ſtage, and in the moſt important affair, that time ever produced. But to audacity and ambition, no unuſual

* Recenti illo tempore tu omnia ad pacem, quæ oratione confici non poterat: ego omnia ad libertatem, quæ ſine pace nulla eſt; pacem ipſam bello atque armis effici poſſe arbitrabar. Cic. ad Brut. II. 7.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

qualities in perſons of his age, Octavius added a prudence, or rather a cunning, which exceeded the political experience of the oldeſt men.

Suet. Aug. 8. & 39. Plut. Brut. Appian. Civil. l. III. Dio. l. XLV.

He had been for ſome months at Apollonia in Epirus, at the time his uncle was killed, and was waiting his coming there, in order to accompany him in the Parthian war, in quality of General of the horſe. However, the time he remained there was not loſt. He employed it in compleating his exerciſes both of body and mind, and particularly in the ſtudy of eloquence; for which purpoſe he had brought with him a celebrated maſter, Apollodorus of Pergamus. For he was thoroughly ſenſible of the advantage of the talent of ſpeech: he had conſecrated to it the firſt-fruits of his youth, by pronouncing, when he was but twelve years old, from the Roſtra, the funeral oration of his grand-mother Julia, Cæſar's ſiſter: and he cultivated it to the laſt, in the greateſt exigency of affairs, and even in the midſt of war and tumult.

The news of the Dictator's death ſurpriſed and afflicted him, but he ſhewed no unſeemly grief or deſpondency. He did not imagine his hopes ruined; and he only deliberated on the method of puſhing his fortune by himſelf, now he had loſt his ſupport. When the officers of his legions quartered about Apollonia came to offer him their ſervices, Agrippa and Salvidienus, who even then eſpouſed his intereſt, adviſed him to take advantage of the good diſpoſition of the troops. But he judged, with reaſon, that it would be too raſh and precipitate a ſtep, to put himſelf at the head of an army, without any right of commanding; without any, the leaſt apparent, title; or without knowing the ſtate of affairs, or being acquainted with the diſpoſitions of either the people, the Senate, or any of the leading men in the Republic. He thought he had better go to Rome, as to the fountain-head, where he might regulate his own conduct by the variation in circumſtances, and might ſo far be ſupported by public authority, which there reſided

Vell. II. 59.

ſided as in its center, as to give an air of ſanction to his enterprizes. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

The method he propoſed to take, and the motive he intended to proceed on, was the avenging his uncle's death: which indeed was the moſt ſpecious pretence under which he could conceal his ambition, and at the ſame time an eaſy and certain means of procuring partiſans and creatures, eſpecially among the ſoldiery. I do not aſſert that it was mere hypocriſy on his part. An inclination to vengeance, as he was circumſtanced, is natural enough, not to be ſuſpected of artifice. I only mean to ſay, that his principal end was, if poſſible, to ſucceed Cæſar; and that the ſpirit of revenge held only the ſecond place in his deſigns. However, he affected to be actuated by no other motive: though even that he concealed at firſt; and he purſued his plan, not with the warmth of a young man, but with all the phlegm and maturity of the moſt cunning politician; patiently waiting for an opportunity to diſcover himſelf, and even ſometimes outwardly deviating from his ſyſtem, in order to return by an indirect, but more certain, route.

No ſooner was he come into Italy than he was informed of Cæſar's will, and of his adoption: whereupon he aſſumed the names of his adoptive father, and was called C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. This was contracting an engagement, which put it out of his power to follow the timid advice of his mother Atia, and of Marcius Philippus his father-in-law; who had wrote to him, adviſing him to confine himſelf to a private quiet life, and to beware of a ſimilar fate to his great uncle, whom all his victories could not exempt from an unhappy death. But Octavius only conſulted his own courage, and he had an immediate reaſon to be ſatisfied with the meaſures he purſued. The legions which were at Brunduſium did not wait his coming, but went out to meet him: all the veterans, to whom the Dictator had given ſettlements either in the country, or in the municipal towns, came

and

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. and joined young Cæſar; and he marched towards Rome, attended by a numerous army, which augmented every inſtant.

All theſe warriors breathed nothing but vengeance, and complained bitterly of Anthony, who in their opinion was much too mild with the Murtherers. Young Cæſar, whom I ſhall more frequently call Octavius, was of their opinion: but perceiving that the Senate was inclined to protect the reſtorers of liberty, and apprehending a rival in his own party, from Anthony himſelf, whoſe age, experience, and known bravery, ſupported by the conſular power, gave him a great ſuperiority over him, he determined to diſſemble: and whilſt, on the one hand, he encouraged the hopes and deſires of his military partiſans; on the other hand, kept fair with the Republicans, as a trial of his ſkill, he deceived Cicero.

Cic. ad Attic. l. XIV. 1. This ſublime genius, but whoſe courage could not ſupport him in adverſity, was at that time in a condition not unlike deſpondency. He had only ſtaid in Rome ſome few days after Cæſar's death. For as ſoon as he perceived that affairs were like to take an ill turn; that Anthony made a great progreſs towards tyranny; and that the Conſpirators every moment loſt ground, he retired into the country, and dividing his time between his different country-houſes, gave a ſcope to his melancholy reflections on the preſent occurrences, and ſeemed wholly employed in providing for his own particular ſafety, becauſe he almoſt deſpaired of that of the Republic.

As nothing eſcaped his attention, he could not fail obſerving Octavius's arrival in Italy: and he mentions it in a letter to Atticus, dated the 11th of April. A few days after, being near Cumæ, this young man came into his neighbourhood, to the houſe of Marcius Philippus, his father-in-law: and as ſoon as he arrived, before he had ſeen Cicero, he ſent him his compliments ſignifying the eſteem and regard he had for him. This was ſucceeded by a viſit, to which Marcius introduced him. It does not appear that any

Ep. 5.

Ep. 11.

thing

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

thing very conſiderable paſſed at this firſt interview. Cicero only informs us, that his attendants gave him the title of Cæſar, but that his father-in-law did not, and that for that reaſon he alſo omitted it: "And I do not think, adds he, that any good citizen could have done otherwiſe." But he afterwards ſtrangely changed his ſtile. Octavius, who immediately ſet out for Rome, improved this new commenced familiarity by frequent letters: wherein he paid great court to Cicero, ſtiled him his father, and declared that he would not act but by his advice. He by this method in a ſhort time drew him in to have a good opinion of him. "Octavius †, ſays he, wants neither for ſenſe, nor courage: and I hope that he will have, with reſpect of our heroes (by which epithet he implies Brutus and Caſſius) the very ſentiments we deſire." However, he did not abſolutely confide in him. His age, the name he had taken, the quality of Cæſar's heir, and the inſtructions he was likely to receive from his aſſociates, all ſerved to give umbrage to Cicero. Yet he concludes, that he muſt be ſupported, if it be only to ſeparate him from Anthony.

And in effect, the neceſſity of oppoſing Anthony was the principal inducement for their union: For as the Conſul made it his buſineſs, as we ſhall find hereafter, to embarraſs them both as much as poſſible; they thought it neceſſary to write againſt the common enemy. Octavius had need of Cicero's weight and authority in the Senate: and on the other hand, Cicero could not ſupport his credit with the ſoldiery, without the aſſiſtance of Octavius. This therefore was the foundation of that ſtrict alliance between them, Plut. Cic.

* Nobiſcum hîc perhonorificè & amicè Octavius: quem quidem ſui Cæſarem ſalutabant, Philippus non: itaque ne nos quidem: quem ego poſſe bonum civem. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 12.

† Octaviano, ut perſpexi, ſatis ingenii, ſatis animi: videbaturque erga noſtros ὑποπτος ita fore ut nos vellemus animatus. Sed quid ætati credendum ſit, quid nomini, quid hæreditati, quid καταχίσει, magni conſilii eſt.—Sed tamen alendus eſt; &, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio ſejungendus. Cic. ad Att. XV. 12.

which

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. which has been ſo often and ſo juſtly reflected on in an old conſummate politician, who ſuffered himſelf to be duped by a child.

Auct. de Cauſ. cor. Eloq. c. 28. Appian. Nic. Demaſc. de inſtit. Aug. This union was in its infancy, when Octavius came to Rome, and found that Anthony was almoſt become abſolute. However, before he took any meaſures to claim his inheritance, or to obtain a public order to authoriſe his adoption, he had a freſh difficulty to ſtruggle with, in relation to his mother Atia, who, beſides her natural authority, merited the greateſt regard from her ſon, on account of the particular care ſhe had taken of his education. This lady, in conjunction with her huſband Marcius Philippus, and her ſon-in-law Marcellus, moſt earneſtly intreated her ſon to renounce a ſucceſſion and title, which expoſed him to the reſentment of the Republican party, to Anthony's jealouſy, and to a thouſand other hazards. All theſe repreſentations were ineffectual. The young man kept conſtant to his principles, and generouſly * declared that he could never eſteem himſelf unworthy a title, which Cæſar had not diſdained conferring on him. And all the compliance he ſhewed his mother, was to promiſe to act with great circumſpection: therein he kept his word.

Appian. Dio. The morning after his arrival, he attended C. Antonius, who in Brutus's abſence diſcharged the office of Prætor of the city: and made a formal demand of being put in poſſeſſion of his inheritance from Cæſar. From thence, though the Conſul Anthony had not ſhewn him the leaſt civility, not having even condeſcended to ſend him his compliments on his arrival, Octavius went to Pompey's gardens, to pay him the firſt viſit, ſaying, that it was but reaſonable that he, who was ſo young and in no public character, ſhould make ſome advances to a perſon who ſo far ſurpaſſed

* Dictitans nefas eſſe, quo nomine Cæſari dignus eſſe viſus, * ſibimet ipſum videri indignum. VELL. II. 60.

* All the editions have Semetipſum: but it is an apparent miſtake.

him in years, and was inveſted with the principal office in the Republic. A. R. 708, Ant. C. 44.

Anthony had a double intereſt to oppoſe Octavius's progreſs, and to keep him under: firſt, a lucrative one; for as he had ſeized all the ready money Cæſar had at his death, either in his houſe, or at his diſpoſal, and ſtill continued to appropriate different parts of his eſtates as they beſt ſuited his convenience, he had reaſon to apprehend he ſhould be called to an account by Cæſar's heir: in the next place, his ambition was no leſs concerned; becauſe a ſon of Cæſar might become a dangerous rival, and diſpute with him the ſupreme command, which was what he aimed at. At the ſame time that he feared him in theſe two points of view, he no leſs deſpiſed him on account of his youth. Inſomuch that he did not treat him with common civility, but made him wait a conſiderable time before he admitted him to an audience: and when Octavius very frankly deſired him to pay him the ſums ariſing from Cæſar's ſucceſſion, which he had received, and without which he was not able to diſcharge the legacies bequeathed by his uncle and adoptive father's will, Anthony made a jeſt of his propoſal; and by way of friendly advice told him, he knew not the conſequence of declaring himſelf Cæſar's heir; and that a man ſo young as he, could not have ſufficient experience or friends for ſuch an undertaking. Plut. Anton.

To this refuſal, Anthony ſoon after added a freſh inſult. There was a form neceſſary for compleating the adoption: which muſt be ratified in a full aſſembly of the Tribes. The Conſul could not refuſe his aſſiſtance in aſſembling the Tribes, and propoſing the law. But, though it was merely a matter of courſe, he procured ſome Tribunes to oppoſe it, and the affair failed, under pretence of its being poſtponed.

Octavius, exaſperated at a treatment which he looked upon as the higheſt ingratitude in a friend and creature of his father, only became more zealous in the

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. the purſuit of his intereſt: and finding himſelf conſtantly oppoſed by the very perſon from whom he might have expected aſſiſtance, had recourſe to the Senate and people. He ſoon gained the Senate's favour, by Cicero's eſpecial aſſiſtance, as I have already mentioned, and which I ſhall have occaſion hereafter more particularly to relate. And in order to have ſome weight with the people, he would have been glad to have had ſome rank: and as the office of Tribune was vacant, by the death of Helvius Cinna, ſlain on the day of Cæſar's funeral, he had a mind to put up for it, and thought he had an opportunity which he ought not to let ſlip. Although Patrician born, and much under the age requiſite for being a Senator, he made private application for the office, and was therein ſeconded by T. Canutius, one of the Tribunes. But Anthony herein again oppoſed his deſigns, and prevented his ſucceeding. Octavius now found he had no other method left to become popular, than by ſhewing his liberality, and by giving treats and feſtivals: a method which ſeldom fails ſucceeding with the multitude.

Suet. Aug. c. 10. Dio.

Octavius, having been preſented to the people by the Tribune Canutius, concluded a very flattering ſpeech, by a promiſe, not only of diſcharging the legacy of three hundred Seſterces bequeathed by Cæſar to each citizen, but to make an addition to it out of his own purſe.

He alſo gave the games inſtituted by the Dictator in honour of Venus Mater, and in commemoration of the victory of Pharſalia, or according to others, of Munda. There was a ſociety eſtabliſhed purpoſely for the celebration of theſe games: but the members not caring, or daring to diſcharge their office, Octavius undertook it, and was at the whole expence, which amounted to an immenſe ſum. He alſo purpoſed, conformable to an ordinance in Cæſar's lifetime, to erect in the middle of the Theatre, the * Dictator's ſtatue, placed on a throne adorned with

Plut. Appian. Dio.

* Authors only mention a throne and a crown, but they doubtleſs ſuppoſe a ſtatue.

gold,

gold, and having on its head a crown of precious ſtones: But Anthony in conjunction with the Tribunes prevented him; ſo little did he value ſhewing his ingratitude to his friend, to whom he was ſo much indebted, provided he could mortify his rival. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. ad Att. XV. 2.

It was during theſe games, that appeared that famous Comet, which was eſteemed by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious vulgar to be the ſeat of Cæſar's ſoul. Pliny has preſerved us the deſcription Auguſtus gave of it in his own words, which I think will not be diſagreeable to the reader. He expreſſes himſelf in this manner. "During the celebration of the games I gave, a bearded ſtar appeared for ſeven days, in that part of the heavens which is neareſt the great Bear. It roſe about the eleventh hour of the day, (an hour before ſun-ſet) was very bright, and viſible to every body. The multitude was of opinion that the appearance of this ſtar denoted, that Cæſar's ſoul had been received among the immortal Gods: and for that reaſon, we placed that ſymbol on the head of the ſtatue, which we ſhortly after conſecrated in the Forum." In this manner was eſtabliſhed, or rather gained credit that impious flattery, which idoliſed Cæſar. He had, during his life-time, received divine honours, and they were now continued to him, after his death. But the worſhip of this new divinity, who could be no longer ſerviceable to any one, was greatly neglected, and would infallibly have fallen into total oblivion, if Cæſar's adoptive ſon had not acquired the empire of the world. This ſtar became the attribute which characteriſed him in the monuments erected to his honour, and is at this time to be ſeen on ſeveral of his medals. Plin. II. 25.

To ſupply the prodigious expence requiſite to anſwer the diſtributions promiſed to the people, and to defray the charges of the games, Octavius had no other reſource than to ſell his inheritance, and his very patrimony, even to the effects of his mother and father-in-law, who had at laſt reſolved to enter into his meaſures, and to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt in the purſuits, Appian. Dio.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. ſuits, they had to no purpoſe endeavoured to diſſuade him from. When he left Brunduſium he carried away ſome money, which had been paid him by the public receivers there. But this ſum probably was ſpent in his march from Brunduſium to Rome. Anthony ſo far from relinquiſhing any part of what he had ſeiſed, made him pay dearly for the minuteſt favour, and harraſſed him by all the methods he could imagine. It was doubtleſs by his contrivance that the Senate, by a decree, required an account of the public monies which Cæſar had appropriated. Several private perſons re-demanded the lands which the Dictator had taken from them. The public treaſury reclaimed the confiſcations of the exiles. And laſtly, Pedius and Pinarius, coheirs with Octavius, were obliged to withdraw their fourth, to ſecure it from the evaſions of the Conſul: but they afterwards generouſly relinquiſhed it, in favour of the perſon who was the only hopes of Cæſar's friends and relations. All the Dictator's poſſeſſions were therefore ſold, and ſold under their real value; becauſe Octavius, on the one hand, by obliging the purchaſers, made ſo many partiſans; and on the other, he was in a hurry to alienate his effects, that they might be no longer expoſed to his enemy's malice. In this manner young Cæſar ſhewed himſelf the worthy heir of the perſon whoſe name he bore; who hazarded every thing to raiſe his fortune; and ſet out with ruining himſelf, in order to attain that diſtinguiſhed rank he afterwards enjoyed. And in effect, he ſo far ſucceeded by this conduct, as to become the darling of the people, and to make Anthony their averſion.

The diviſion between them was ſhortly carried to the laſt exceſs. Anthony never ceaſed giving Octavius freſh ſubject of complaint: and he from thence took occaſion to inveigh publickly againſt Anthony, ſtopping at the corners of the ſtreets, and haranguing the populace, who aſſembled round him. His name, his youth, the inſinuating and artful turns he made uſe of, his mild, and at the ſame time noble aſpect,

the manifeſt injuſtice in Anthony's treatment of him, all concurred to render his cauſe favourable. The very officers of Anthony's guard, who had all ſerved under Cæſar, and had a veneration for his memory, intereſted themſelves in behalf of his ſon, and declared to Anthony that they ſhould be glad to ſee them reconciled. Such a recommendation was equal to an order, to a perſon who entirely depended on the affection of the ſoldiery for the execution of his ſchemes. Whereupon a reconciliation was made; but not being hearty on either ſide, it was ſhortly followed by a freſh rupture, and freſh attempts were again made, to reſtore peace between them. The end of all theſe proceedings was an irreconcileable enmity to each other. Anthony accuſed young Cæſar of having endeavoured to corrupt ſome of his guard to aſſaſſinate him, and he had them under examination before a private committee of his own friends. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Octavius complained loudly: he came to the Conſul's houſe to juſtify himſelf, but not being admitted, he remained at the door, where he with great earneſtneſs endeavoured to clear himſelf, inſiſting on the contrary that it was Anthony, who every day was laying ſnares for his ruin. However, there is great probability of the truth of the fact. Seneca and Suetonius both confirm it: and Cicero, whoſe authority is unexceptionable, explains himſelf on that head in a manner which puts it out of all doubt. "* The accuſation brought by Anthony againſt Octavius paſſes, ſays he, in the opinion of the multitude for an invention, contrived to ruin that young man, and to plunder him of his effects. But every perſon of ſenſe and probity believes the thing and approves it." The reaſon why Anthony had not the affair thoroughly examined into, might be, that he ſaw the people ſo far prejudiced in his enemy's favour, that he had no hopes of being credited. Sen. de Clem. I. 9. Suet. Aug. 10.

* Multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adoleſcentis impetum faciat. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt fictum, & probant. Cic. ad Fam. XII. 23.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

So wide a rupture could not but terminate in an open war; and accordingly Octavius and Anthony had both recourſe to arms, but by no means on equal terms. The firſt, without any title or authority, had no other recommendation than his name, his money, and promiſes, to gain over to his party his father's veterans: whereas Anthony not only was Conſul, but had legions at his diſpoſal, whoſe command had been conferred on him by public authority. Theſe were the legions of Macedonia, which Cæſar had intended for the Parthian war. But Anthony having procured, as I have mentioned in the preceding book, the government of that province, to the prejudice of Brutus, changed the ſtation of the ſix legions, which were there quartered, and conſequently were entirely under his direction. However, he gave up one of them to Dolabella, upon his being appointed Governor of Syria, in Caſſius's ſtead. As Anthony's projects were at that time in their infancy, his next ſcheme was how to bring the remaining five legions into Italy. In order to furniſh himſelf with a pretence, and at the ſame time totally to ſtrip the Conſpirators, he applied to the Senate for the government of Ciſalpine Gaul, which was then in the hands of Decimus Brutus. But as that aſſembly would by no means hear ſuch a demand, he appealed to the people: and ſupported, according to Appian, by Octavius's credit, with whom he at that juncture happened to be under a ſort of reconciliation, he obtained his requeſt, and then made over Macedonia to his brother Caius, at that time Prætor. Whereupon his firſt care was to ſend for the Macedonian legions to Brunduſium; and as ſoon as he received advice of the arrival of four of them, he ſet out to put himſelf at their head.

Cic. ad Fam. XII. 3.

But before he left Rome, doubtleſs through a deſire of clearing himſelf of all reflections of ingratitude to Cæſar, and for which there was but too juſt a foundation, he erected a ſtatue to him in the Roſtra with this inſcription, *Parenti optime merito*, that is, to the

the father and benefactor of the Republic. Such an homage paid to Cæſar was an invective againſt his Murtherers, and tended, as Cicero has remarked, to make them conſidered, not as ſimple Aſſaſſins, but as Parricides. Nothing could be more diſagreeable to the Senate: but Anthony no longer conſulted their pleaſure. His whole thoughts were bent on ingratiating himſelf with the multitude, and ſoldiery. With this view his brother Lucius, who was Tribune, propoſed an Agrarian law, for diſtributing among the citizens, together with other lands, the Palus Pomptina, though it had not then been drained. This liberality, which was in a great meaſure chimerical, procured its author four ſtatues; one from the people, with an inſcription whereby the thirty-five Tribes acknowledged him for their Patron; another from the Roman Knights, who gave him the ſame title; the third was erected to him by the military Tribunes who had ſerved under Cæſar; and the fourth, by the merchants and bankers.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Dio. Cic. Phil. VI. 12, 13, 14.

The Conſul Anthony himſelf conducted a colony to Caſilinum, a town of Campania, though Cæſar had but very lately ſettled one there. And in order to make himſelf creatures among the citizens of the firſt rank, he took upon him arbitrarily to beſtow the governments of Provinces, or to delay their diſtribution, as beſt ſerved his purpoſe. It was after all theſe tranſactions that he ſet out for Brunduſium, the ninth of October.

Cic. Phil. II. 102. Dio. Appian.

Cic. ad Fam. XII. 23.

Octavius perceiving his adverſary to ſet out with ſo conſiderable a force, was ſenſible that he muſt be ruined, unleſs he could find means to aſſemble troops for his defence. He traverſed Campania, Samnium, and all the parts of Italy where his Father's veterans had received ſettlements; and by giving them five hundred denarii a man, gained a great number of them. At the ſame time he employed private emiſſaries to entice away Anthony's legions; and, in a word, omitted nothing which might put him in a condition to oppoſe force by force.

Cic. Phil. III. & V. & ad Att. XVI. l. 15:12:6.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Brutus and Caſſius were not drove out of Italy by the war, they quitted it ſome time before. But as at firſt they were not determined what meaſures to take, they remained a while in the neighbourhood of Rome, in expectation of ſome opportunity which might favour their return.

The games, which Brutus, in quality of Prætor of the city, was to give the people, flattered their hopes. With this view Brutus ſpared no pains or coſt to make them magnificent. In the theatrical repreſentations, he introduced hunting of fallow-deer; of which he had collected a great number: nor did he ſell, or reſerve any, but ſacrificed them all to the pleaſure of the multitude. At Naples he ſaw a company of comedians and muſicians, which he hired to play for him. And he wrote to his friends to engage a celebrated actor, whom Plutarch calls Canutius. In a word, he had this affair ſo much at heart, that he begged and intreated Cicero to leave the country, and go to Rome to aſſiſt at his games. Cicero neither thought it honourable, nor ſafe for him to take ſuch a ſtep. And Brutus would have ſtill run a greater hazard in appearing perſonally there. He durſt not venture, but prevailed on C. Antonius, his collegue, to act as his repreſentative at the games, which were celebrated the beginning of July.

The ſucceſs was not equal to the hopes of the Conſpirators and their friends. The multitude was charmed with the beauty and order of the feſtival: they ſeemed to regret the donor's abſence, and to wiſh his return. They applauded, they clapt their hands: but they went no further, and * Cicero complains with ſome paſſion, "that the Roman people ſhould make uſe of their hands in applauding, and not in defending the Republic." In fact, the Roman people had nothing left but the name; being torn by factions, and tyranniſed by their rulers: and Antony's

* Mihi quo lætiora ſunt, eo plus ſtomachi & moleſtiæ eſt, populum Romanum manus ſuas non in defendenda Republica, ſed in plaudendo, conſumere. Cic. ad Att. XVI. 2.

thony's party, the ſoldiery, and all who had any regard to Cæſar's memory, interrupted the games by making violent noiſes, till they had ſilenced Brutus's advocates. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

This attempt having failed, Brutus and Caſſius were ſenſible that they had but little proſpect of reeſtabliſhing themſelves, or of reſtoring with them the ancient form of government: and when they ſaw that the more affairs came to an eclairciſſement, the greater aſcendancy arms gained over the laws; that all Italy was divided betwixt Anthony and young Cæſar, and that ſcarce any one thought of the Republic; that the troops ſeemed diſpoſed to ſell themſelves to which ever of them could bribe the higheſt; they were at length convinced that in ſo corrupted a ſtate, the love of juſtice and an attention to the laws, was a feeble reſource, unleſs ſupported by force. As the commiſſion, which they had received to provide corn for the city, had furniſhed them both with a pretence and means of aſſembling ſome ſhips, the ſea became open to them, and they were ſafe from any interruption in their paſſage. Brutus therefore went to * Velia, a maritime town of Lucania, to be ready to embark the moment that the ſituation of affairs required it.

He remained ſome time in this town, and was there the fourth of Auguſt, as appears by a letter of that date, wrote by him to the Conſul Anthony, in his and Caſſius's name. This letter, which is to be found among Cicero's epiſtles, diſcovers a noble haughtineſs, and generous audacity, corrected by modeſty: and I believe it will not be diſagreeable to the reader if I tranſcribe part of it. It ſeems Anthony had ſent them an inſulting, threatening letter; but as they were not to be terrified, they returned him the following anſwer. "† Think not to intimi- Cic. ad Fam. XI. 3.

* This town lies not far from Cape Polinurus, which ſtill retains its name.

† Armorum fiduciâ nihil eſt quod nos terreas. Neque enim decet, convenit nobis, periculo ulli ſubmittere animum noſtrum, Neque

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. date us by your military force. It would be a reflection on us, to ſuffer any danger to get the better of our courage: and Anthony ought not to think of commanding thoſe, to whom he owes his liberty. If we have reaſon to commence a civil war, your letter will not prevent us: for the free are not affected by menaces. But you very well know that nothing can bring us to that extremity: and it is therefore perhaps for that reaſon you aſſume ſo menacing a tone, that our determination may be interpreted the effect of fear. To tell you freely our thoughts of you, we could wiſh that the Republic might retain its liberty, without any diminution of your rank or forfeiture of your honour. We deſire not to be at enmity with you: but our liberty is dearer to us than your friendſhip. We would adviſe you to weigh well what you undertake, and to conſider the extent of your capacity: and remember, not how long Cæſar lived, but how ſhort a time he reigned. Our prayers are, that your councils and deſigns may be no leſs advantageous to the Republic, than to yourſelf. Otherwiſe we hope, provided it be not to the prejudice of the Republic, that it may turn as little to your diſadvantage as poſſible."

It is certain this letter did not make a convert of Anthony: but in my opinion it greatly redounds to the honour of thoſe who compoſed it; except that the averſion they therein expreſs to a civil war, does not eaſily coincide with the meaſures we ſhall find they took, as ſoon as they had paſſed the ſea.

eſt Antonio poſtulandum, ut iis imperet quorum operâ liber eſt. Nos ſi alia hortarentur ut bellum civile ſuſcitare vellemus, literæ tuæ nihil proficerent. Nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos eſt. Sed pulchre intelligis non poſſe nos quoquàm impelli: & fortaſſis eâ re minaciter agis, ut judicium noſtrum metus videatur. Nos in hac ſententia ſumus, ut te cupiamus in libera Republica magnum atque honeſtum eſſe: vocemus te ad nullas inimicitias; ſed tamen noſtram libertatem pluris, quàm tuama micitiam, æſtimemus. Tu etiam atque etiam vide, quid ſuſcipias, quid ſuſtinere poſſis: neque, quàm diu vexerit Cæſar, ſed quàm non diu regnarit, fac cogites. Deos quæſumus, ut conſilia tua Reipublicæ ſalutaria ſint ac tibi. Si minùs, ut, ſalvâ atque honeſtâ Republicâ, tibi quàm minimùm noceant, optamus.

Por-

Porcia had followed her huſband Brutus to Velia: and there ſhe ſeparated from him never to ſee him more. She foreſaw this misfortune, and was under the deepeſt affliction: but through the effect of her reſolution, her concern was a ſecret to every body, till it happened to be diſcovered by a picture. This was the adieu of Hector and Andromache, painted from the lively and affecting deſcription given us by Homer. Porcia, on ſeeing a ſubject, ſo extremely ſimiliar to her own ſituation, could not refrain from tears: and ſhe was ſeen to cry ſeveral times that day. A friend of Brutus, named Acilius, from this circumſtance took occaſion to apply two noted verſes, which Homer puts in the mouth of Andromache. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Plut. Brut.

" * Yet while my Hector ſtill ſurvives, I ſee
My father, mother, brethren, all, in thee.
Alas! my parents, brothers, kindred, all,
Once more will periſh if my Hector fall.
Thy wife, thy infant, in thy danger ſhare:
Oh prove a huſband's and a father's care!"

POPE.

Brutus allowed the application to be juſt: but obſerved, that he could not properly make uſe of the ſame kind of language to Porcia, which Hector uſes to Andromache, who adviſes her to apply herſelf to her needle, and to attend her houſhold. " For," † added he, " though through the weakneſs of her " ſex ſhe is certainly incapable of atchieving exploits " equal to our's; yet, for elevated ſentiments, and " an affection to her country, ſhe has certainly as " good pretenſions to heroiſm as any of us." Porcia returned to Rome. Brutus croſſed the ſea and went to Athens: and Caſſius ſet out ſoon after.

* Ἕκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσὶ πατὴρ, καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
Ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης.

HOM. Iliad. VI. 429, 430.

† Ἀλλ' ἐκ ἐμοὶ γ' εἶπεν, πρὸς Πορκίαν ἔπεισι φάναι τὰ τῦ Ἕκτορος.
Ἴσχυι τ' ἠλακάτην τι, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε.
Σώματος γὰρ ἀπολείπονται φύσει τῶν ἴσων ἀνδραγαθημάτων· γνώμη δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀμοιρύσει.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

While they were thus abandoning Italy, Cicero returned thither. As this voyage has ſome connection with the general affairs of the Republic, I think it will not be improper to give ſome account of it.

Cic. ad Att. XV. 18.

I have already mentioned the motives which induced him to leave Rome, and to retire to his country-houſe. There he became a prey to his apprehenſions, ſeeing what lengths Anthony's ſchemes carried him; and not doubting but that he would occaſion much bloodſhed, under pretence of avenging Cæſar's death, but in reality to get rid of thoſe who might be any impediment to his ambitious views. Nor was Cicero's heart leſs affected by reſentment and concern, to ſee the abſolute command the Conſul uſurped in Rome, and the ill uſe he made of it; by exerciſing all kinds of rapine and injuſtice, by breaking through all laws, and oppreſſing the Senate, without the leaſt regard to decency: inſomuch that the Orator began almoſt to regret the loſs of Cæſar. He more than once remarks, that Anthony obſerved infinitely leſs meaſures than the perſon whoſe orders he pretended to put in execution: and after all, Cicero had ſome weight with Cæſar, whereas Anthony paid not the leaſt regard to him. "* I was ſo well received, ſays he, by the Dictator, (whom may Divine vengeance purſue even though he is dead), that, ſince the Tyrant's death has not reſtored us our liberty, ſervitude under ſuch a maſter was not the greateſt evil that could befal a man of my age. I am aſhamed to confeſs it: but having wrote it, I do not care to ſtrike it out."

With ſuch ſentiments, which diſcover how much ſelf-intereſt influenced Cicero's actions, one muſt not be ſurpriſed to ſee him abandon Rome and Italy, at a time when his oppreſſed country ſeemed to ſtand moſt in need of his aſſiſtance. But the danger alarmed

* Ita gratioſi eramus apud illum, (quem Dii mortuum perduint!) ut noſtræ ætati, quoniam interfecto rege liberi non ſumus, non fuerit dominus ille fugiendus. Rubeo, mihi crede: ſed jam ſcripſeram; delere nolui. Cic. ad Att. XV. 4.

him;

him; and his fears magnified that danger, or at leaſt brought it nearer to his view. For he was not in the caſe of Brutus and Caſſius; having had no concern in the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar. And though in the preſent ſituation of affairs he might not have it in his power to do the Republic any actual ſervice, yet the face of affairs might take a ſudden change, and opportunities might offer, which might be luckily improved to the advantage of his cauſe. Theſe conſiderations had no weight with him: and from the beginning of April, when he left Rome, to the end of * June, at which time he embarked, he appears by his letters to Atticus to have his thoughts entirely bent on leaving Italy, at leaſt for ſome time. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. XIV. ad Att. 13. 19, 21.

D. Brutus's camp in Ciſalpine Gaul, or that of Sex. Pompeius in Spain, would have been a very ſafe retreat for him. But a camp neither ſuited his age nor character. He ſometimes applied to himſelf, with a ſmall alteration in the words, Jupiter's advice, in Homer, to Venus:

" † Not theſe, O daughter, are thy proper cares,
Thee milder arts befit, and ſofter wars. POPE.

His averſion to the army, eſpecially in a civil war, was ſo great, that he abſolutely declares, that rather than ſerve he would ſuffer a thouſand deaths.

With theſe ſentiments, Greece was the only proper place for him; and he preſently determined to make his abode at Athens. He had a particular inducement to fix on that city: where his ſon, at that time about one and twenty years old, was then ſtudying under the philoſopher Cratippus. Cicero, who tho'

* In all this ſpace of time, he made but one ſhort appearance at Rome, in order to be preſent at the Senate, on the firſt of June. But the terror of Anthony's arms kept him away; and the morrow, or perhaps that very day, he left the city. Cic. Phil. II. 2. n. 128. & XV. ad Att. 8. & 9.

† Τέκνον ἐμὸν, ἤ τοι δέδοται πολεμήια ἔργα.
Ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα * γάμοιο. Iliad. l. V. 428, 429.

* In Homer it is ἔργα γάμοιο, which relates to marriages,

an

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. an affectionate father, was not ſo blind as not to perceive the want of natural talents in his ſon, thought, that by being preſent he * might aſſiſt him in his ſtudies, or at leaſt he might be able to judge, how far he was capable of improvement. After having remained a long time in ſuſpence, he at length determined to ſet out for Athens: and embarking, as I have already mentioned, towards the end of June, he coaſted Campania, making ſhort journies, and ſtopping often. He choſe to go by the Streights, rather than by Brunduſium, becauſe that city being the rendezvous of Anthony's legions, he thought it not ſafe to expoſe his perſon there: At his ſetting out he propoſed returning to Rome by the beginning of the enſuing year, at which time Panſa and Hirtius were to commence their Conſulſhip.

Cic. Phil. I. 6.

Theſe two men, who had been Cæſar's creatures and ſtaunch friends, retained a great affection for his memory, and conſequently could not love Brutus. But they had a very great regard for Cicero. Particularly Hirtius was in great intimacy with him. And they both had as ſtrong an averſion to Anthony, whoſe imperious behaviour extremely diſguſted them. They appeared to have been men of honour, ſtrongly attached to the ſervice of their country, and who paid all due deference to the authority of the Senate. In a word, though Cicero ſometimes reflects on them in his letters to Atticus, he had ſo great a value for them, as to intend returning to Rome, and reſume a part in the adminiſtration of public affairs, as ſoon as they entered into their office.

Cic. Phil. I. 7, 8. & ad Att. XVI. 7.

He came to Syracuſe the firſt of Auguſt, where he ſtaid but one day. He then continued his voyage, but was drove back by contrary winds to Leucopetra, a promontory of Italy, near Rhegium. Some days after he ſet out again, and was a ſecond time drove back to the ſame place. He then received ſuch intelligence from Rome, as made him entirely change

* Aut proderimus aliquid Ciceroni; aut, quantum profici poſſit judicabimus. Cic. ad Att. XVI. 5.

his

his reſolution. He was informed, that things ſeemed diſpoſed to a pacification; that Anthony had given up his pretenſions to Ciſalpine Gaul; that Brutus and Caſſius were at liberty to return to Rome; and that he was a little reflected on for being out of the way. Cicero * thought himſelf obliged, according to his own teſtimony, to the Eteſian winds, who, like good citizens, had refuſed to accompany him, when he was abandoning the Republic: or, to ſpeak without a figure, as he had, with great reluctance, taken the reſolution of leaving Italy, he was glad to ſeize the leaſt gleam of hope, which could induce him to believe, that he might ſafely return to Rome, and appear there with ſome character. Whereupon he relinquiſhed his firſt deſign, and returned to Rome with all diligence. However, he made a ſhort ſtay at Velia, where were Brutus and Caſſius, and conferred with them for the laſt time. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Theſe diſpoſitions to peace, which had ſo charmed Cicero, were no more than a fineſſe in Anthony, who juſt then finding himſelf too cloſely preſſed by young Cæſar, pretended to come into the meaſures of the Senate. Nothing, which the Republicans hoped for, came to paſs: and when Cicero arrived at Rome the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, he found affairs leſs diſpoſed than ever to an accommodation. It is true the people expreſſed a great deal of joy at his return, and that there was ſo great a concourſe of citizens of all conditions at the gates, to wait on him, that he was detained there almoſt the whole day in receiving their compliments and congratulations. But for Anthony; ſo far from Cicero's having any reaſon to expect any civility from him, he had cauſe to fear, from the information he received by the way, the moſt fatal effects of his reſentment: and on that account he durſt not be preſent, the next day, at the meeting of the Senate. However, he concealed his ſuſpicions, not to Plut. Cic.

* Iratis temporibus, in Græciam, deſperatâ libertate, rapiebar: quum me Eteſiæ, quaſi boni cives, relinquentem Rempublicam proſequi noluerunt. Cic. ad Fam. XII. 25.

give

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. Phil. I. 12. & V. 19, 20.

give the Conſul offence, as he ſtill preſerved ſome outward ſhew of friendſhip towards him; but ſent him an apology for his abſence, excuſing himſelf that he had not recovered the fatigue of his voyage. Anthony was not to be thus impoſed on, and being highly exaſperated, either at having miſſed his blow, or to find himſelf wrongfully ſuſpected, he could not even contain himſelf in the Senate, inſomuch that he threatened to go in perſon, with workmen, to pull down Cicero's houſe, and force him to come out. However, he was at laſt appeaſed at the interceſſion of the Senators, and accepted of a fine, for the payment of which, according to cuſtom, he exacted ſureties.

The next day, the ſecond of September, the Senate met again, and Anthony being abſent, Cicero came there. It was on this occaſion that he delivered his firſt Philippic, wherein he ſpeaks with a great deal of moderation. It is entirely full of complaints, without the leaſt invective. He diſapproves of Anthony's proceedings, but without any malice. And concludes with an exhortation and ſome advice, which might have been very ſerviceable to the perſon for whom it was intended. I ſhall only cite one paſſage. "I am * afraid, ſays he, (addreſſing himſelf to Anthony, as if he were preſent) that not knowing the true path of glory, you imagine it will be glorious for you to be able alone to do more than all the Republic, and that you had rather be feared than loved. If theſe are your thoughts, you have entirely miſtaken the road to true glory. To be dear to one's fellow-citizens, ſerviceable to the ſtate, to be commended, honoured, eſteemed, this is to be glorious: but to make oneſelf feared

* Vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriæ, glorioſum putes, plus te unum poſſe quàm omnes; & metui à civibus quàm diligi malis. Quod ſi ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriæ. Carum eſſe ‡ civem, bene de Republica mereri, coli, diligi, glorioſum eſt: metui verò, & in odio eſſe, invidioſum, deteſtabile, imbecillum, caducum. Quod videmus, etiam in fabulis, ipſi illi qui, "Oderint, dum metuant," dixerit, pernicioſum fuiſſe. Cic. Phil. I. 33.

‡ I think it would be better *civibus*,

and

and hated, is an odious and deteſtable proceeding, and a ſituation which can never be ſecure, but muſt be liable to a thouſand accidents. Of this the ſtage affords us an inſtance; and he † who was made by the poets to ſay, 'Let them hate me, provided they 'fear me,' dearly experienced the folly of ſuch a doctrine." A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. † Atreus.

The whole Oration is in this ſtile. Which nevertheleſs ſo offended Anthony, that from that moment he declared open war againſt our Orator. He appointed another meeting of the Senate on the 18th of September, and ſent Cicero perſonally a citation to be there, and he there charged him with whatever his malice and reſentment could ſuggeſt. Cicero had taken care not to obey the citation. He aſſures us, that Anthony's deſign was to have him aſſaſſinated; and that when once he had begun to imbrue himſelf in blood, he would not be ſatisfied with a ſingle victim. However, though he was not preſent, he ſoon anſwered the Conſul's furious charge by his ſecond Philippic: in which, after having cleared himſelf from the reflexions which had been thrown on him, he attacks his adverſary in his turn, and taking him from his infancy to his Conſulſhip, paints him in ſuch colours as make him equally an object of hatred and contempt. This Oration, which has always been eſteemed a maſter-piece, and which, though compoſed by a man near ſixty-three years old, contains all the fire and ſpirit that could be expected from a man in the prime of life, was never pronounced. Cicero compoſed it in his cloſet, and afterwards diſperſed copies of it among his friends, who preſently made it public. Manut. Argum. Phil. II.

Anthony's conduct was a confirmation of his enemy's accuſation. When he came to Brunduſium, he behaved like a madman, pretending to ſupport his command with as much rigour as if he had been a Conſul of the ancient Republic, and not the leader of a faction; and by miſplaced ſeverities inflicted to a degree of cruelty, alienating his ſoldiers affections, which

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Dio. Appian.

which it was ſo much the more his intereſt to endeavour to gain by mildneſs and gratuities, as the command he had over them was at leaſt very equivocal.

They had not for ſome time before been thoroughly ſatisfied with him, becauſe he ſeemed too remiſs in avenging Cæſar's death: and he increaſed this diſſatisfaction, by promiſing them no more than a hundred denarii per man, at the ſame time that Octavius gave five hundred to all who engaged with him. In order therefore to ſhew their contempt of ſo paultry a gratuity, they quitted him abruptly in the midſt of his harangue; which put Anthony into ſo great a paſſion, that he leapt from his tribunal, ſaying, "I'll learn you to obey me." And having taken from the Tribunes a liſt of the moſt ſeditious, he put three hundred of them to death; a great number of whom were Centurions, who were executed before his face, and in the preſence of his wife Fulvia, whoſe bold and violent temper had perhaps a greater ſhare than Anthony's, in theſe cruel executions.

Cic. Phil. III. 4. 10. & V. 22.

This had but an ill effect. The troops, inſtead of being intimidated, were only exaſperated; and ſo much the more diſpoſed to hearken to the ſollicitations of Octavius's emiſſaries, who diſperſed billets through the army, wherein they oppoſed the mildneſs and generoſity of their young Chief, to Anthony's cruelty and ſordidneſs. The Conſul was informed of it, and endeavoured to compel his ſoldiers to deliver up theſe ſecret agents for his adverſary. But they were determined not to betray them, and Anthony was not able to get at the knowledge of any one of them. He now began to be ſenſible that he had taken a wrong method with them, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould endeavour to regain their affection, which his ſeverity had alienated. He in ſome meaſure ſucceeded, and the main part of his army put itſelf in march, purſuant to his orders, along the Adriatic coaſt, for Rimini; whilſt he, at the head of a legion, called the Larks, marched to Rome. This was originally a Gauliſh legion, raiſed by Cæſar in that country: the very

very name it bore, "Alaudæ," or "Alaudarum Legio," was Gauliſh, and was given it becauſe the ſoldiers of that legion wore a lark on their helmets. They were all made Roman citizens by Cæſar, for their ſignal ſervices. Anthony had a particular affection for them, inſomuch that he promoted ſeveral of them to civil employments: and for which he is very juſtly reproached by Cicero. A. R. 708, Ant. C. 44. Cic. ad Att. VXI. 8. Suet. Cæſ. 28. & ibi Caſaub. Cic. Phil. I. 20. & V. 12.

With this legion under arms he marched into Rome, and ordered a guard to be mounted at his houſe, in the ſame form as in a camp. One may gueſs how much this alarmed the inhabitants of that great city, and particularly the Senate. Nobody doubted but that he came purpoſely, not only to make himſelf abſolute in Rome, but to wreak his vengeance on his adverſaries, all of whom he accuſed, eſpecially Cicero, of having been concerned in the murthering of Cæſar. He had explained his intentions on that article more than once. Speaking of the Tribune Canutius, who in concert with the principal men of the Senate, aſſiſted Octavius to the utmoſt of his power: "This *man," ſaid he in a full aſſembly of the people, "thinks "to be ſupported by a ſet of men, who, if I live, will "never be able to ſupport themſelves in the city." And on another occaſion he repeated the ſame threat in more expreſs terms, declaring "that † nobody, unleſs they were victorious, muſt expect to live." Ibid. III. IV. V. Cic. ad Fam. XII. 23.

This was therefore no imaginary danger, and Octavius, by delivering therefrom both the city and Senate, did them an important ſervice, for which he could not be too much commended, if his views had been honeſt and upright; and if, from being the ſaviour of the city on this occaſion, he had not ſoon after become its executioner. It is certain that at that time it was requiſite for his intereſt that he ſhould oppoſe Anthony; and therefore whilſt the latter was Dio. Appian.

* Canutium apud eos ſibi locum quærere, quibus, ſe ſalvo, locus in civitate eſſe non poſſes.

† Niſi qui viciſſet: victurum neminem. Cic. Phil. III. 27. & V. 20.

gone

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. ad Att. XVI. 8.

gone to Brunduſium, he aſſembled a body of troops, which Appian ſays amounted to ten thouſand men; and by Cicero's advice marched towards the Capitol, in hopes to be there before Anthony. He was ſo: and his faithful Canutius having convened the people, Octavius delivered an harangue, wherein, after having ſummoned up Anthony's unjuſt proceedings in his and the Republic's behalf, he declared that he came to protect his country againſt a cruel oppreſſor.

This diſcourſe was very agreeable to the multitude. But the ſoldiers, who imagined they were brought thither to be the mediators of a reconciliation between Cæſar's friend and his heir, or perhaps to act againſt the enemies of his memory, were highly offended to find themſelves miſtaken in their opinion. They could not conſent to draw their ſwords againſt Anthony, who had formerly been their commander, and was then Conſul. They therefore demanded their diſmiſſion from Octavius on various pretences, though ſome made no ſcruple to tell him the true reaſon of their diſcontent. Young Cæſar behaved with remarkable prudence under ſo diſagreeable a circumſtance. As he had no right to detain them, ſo far from ſhewing any concern at their forſaking him, he conſented to every thing, took no notice of the bad excuſes made him by ſeveral, endeavoured to convince and ſatisfy ſuch as told him the truth, thanked them all for their eſcort, and promiſed that they ſhould ſtill feel the effects of his liberality. By this mild behaviour he regained three thouſand of them on the ſpot: the reſt ſoon repented having quitted him, and returned to him in crowds. However, as he at firſt found his forces greatly diminiſhed, he thought it not prudent to wait for Anthony in Rome: but marched away with all expedition towards Ravenna to aſſemble more troops, and be nearer his agents, who were diſperſed among Anthony's legions, endeavouring to debauch his men.

Every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh. Not only the veterans ſettled in the ſeveral towns and villages of

that

that part of the country he traverſed, readily ranged under his banners; but an entire legion of Anthony, called the Martial Legion, being on its march, ſtopped at Alba, and declared for Octavius. Another (which was the fourth) ſoon after followed its example: and Anthony received an account of this ſecond deſertion, juſt as he was going into the Capitol, to preſide at an aſſembly of the Senate, convened by his orders on the 28th of November. His intent at this meeting was to procure a decree to the prejudice of young Cæſar: but this accident broke his meaſures. He therefore preſently diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and immediately ſet out to join the legions which ſtill continued in his ſervice, for fear they ſhould alſo deſert. Though his forces were thus diminiſhed, yet it did not prevent him from marching towards Ciſalpine Gaul, in order to recover the government of that province, which had been conferred on him by the people, but which Decimus Brutus was in poſſeſſion of, by virtue of a decree of the Senate. This latter was fully determined not to quit his poſſeſſion: and was therein ſupported by all the Republican party, who had no other aſylum in all Italy. Thus, after many diſſenſions and diſputes, broke out the civil war: nor indeed was it poſſible that ſo many violent quarrels could be determined any other way than by dint of arms.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. Phil. III. IV. V. Cic. ad Fam. XI. 5.

The numbers on each ſide were by no means equal. Anthony had ſtill remaining, beſides his guard, three legions come from Macedonia, and a conſiderable number of new levies. Decimus had at the moſt but three legions, two of veterans, and one new raiſed. But the inequality was ſtill greater between the Generals. Anthony had both experience and courage. Decimus, though he ſerved a long time under Cæſar, has no great reputation in hiſtory, as a warrior.

Appian.

As Octavius had five legions at his diſpoſal, to wit, the two he had inveigled from Anthony, one of new troops, and two which chiefly conſiſted of veterans, but were intermixed with new recruits, he had it in his

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. power, with theſe forces, to turn the balance on which ſide he pleaſed. But he was embarraſſed in his determination. He hated Decimus, and feared Anthony. It was indecent for him to take the part of a perſon who had been concerned in his father's murther, and yet he could not help reſenting the extreme ill uſage he had received from Anthony. Beſides, he was under engagements with the Senate, and he had need of the authority of that auguſt body to ſupport him, and to juſtify his taking arms. He therefore determined to purſue the route he had ſet out in: and without making any direct advances to Decimus, wrote to the Senate to offer them his ſervice, with the five legions he had aſſembled in Alba. Nor was this all. For when his troops preſented him the Faſces, and entreated him to take the title of Proprætor, he declared that he would accept of no title of honour and command, but from the authority of the Senate. At the ſame time he took care, by a proper bounty, to ſecure the legions which had forſaken Anthony: he reviewed them, and afterwards gave them five hundred denarii a man, with a promiſe of five thouſand more after victory.

It would have better pleaſed the Senate, if thoſe legions, when they forſook Anthony, had entered into the Republic's ſervice, inſtead of Octavius's. But this was not a time to make ſuch a diſcovery. They accepted Octavius's offer with great thankfulneſs, and promiſed to authoriſe him the firſt time the Senate ſat, which they believed could not be before the firſt of January. This anſwer muſt have been made by ſome of the Prætors and Tribunes, in conjunction with a number of the moſt eminent Senators; for Rome was at that time in a kind of anarchy. Without any Conſul, Dolabella having been ſome time gone into Syria: Brutus and Caſſius, whom we may reckon at the head of the Prætors, had croſſed the ſeas: and affairs were ſo embroiled, that there were no hopes of bringing them to any regulation, till the new Conſuls commenced their office.

Cicero moſt probably had a great ſhare in the anſwer which was returned Octavius. He had ſpent the months of October and November at his country-houſes, to avoid Anthony's reſentment. As ſoon as he knew that he had left Rome, he returned there the 9th of December, under ſtronger engagements than ever with Octavius. Not that he entirely confided in him: the contrary appears in all his laſt letters to Atticus. He plainly ſaw that if this young man got the better of Anthony, Brutus would be in danger. And he was abſolutely perſuaded that, on Brutus's ſafety, depended that of the Republic. Nevertheleſs, from the almoſt daily application Octavius made to him by letters, wherein he proteſted that he would be entirely directed by his advice; from the ſollicitations of their common friends; and above all, from the conſideration of the danger with which Anthony threatened him and the Republic at the ſame time, he was prevailed on to return the following anſwer to * Oppius, who ſtrongly importuned him to declare for young Cæſar. "I cannot conſent to your requeſt, unleſs I am aſſured, that Octavius not only will not be an enemy to thoſe who have killed the Tyrant, but that he will be a friend to them." Oppius engaged for him. "Where then is the hurry? ſays Cicero, I can be of no ſervice to Octavius before the firſt of January: and he may, the tenth of December, convince me of his intentions, by conſenting that Caſca enter into the office of Tribune of the people." This Caſca, who had been nominated for this office, was the perſon who gave the firſt blow to Cæſar, in the manner I have related. Octavius kept his word, with regard to Caſca; upon which conditi-

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Cic. ad Fam. XI. 5.

Cic. ad Attic. XVI. 14.

XIV. 2.

XVI.

* Dixi Oppio, quum me hortaretur ut adoleſcentem, totamque tanſam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere poſſe, ni mihi exploratum eſſet, eum non modò non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verùm etiam amicum fore. Quum ille diceret ita futurum, Quid igitur feſtinamus? inquam. Illi enim meâ operâ antè Kal. Januarias nihil opus eſt. Nos autem ejus voluntatem ante Idus Decembres perſpiciemus in Caſca. Cic. ad Att. XVI. 15.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. on, Cicero was under an obligation to obſerve the ſame punctuality with Oppius.

Cic. ad Fam. XI. 6. & Phil. III. & IV. The new Tribunes of the people, entering into their office, as uſual, the tenth of December, convened the Senate the twentieth of the ſame month. Cicero was there one of the firſt, and his preſence drew thither a great many other Senators; ſo that there was a very full houſe. The Tribunes propoſed to recommend it to the Conſuls elect, Hirtius and Panſa, to take the neceſſary meaſures that the Senate might aſſemble with ſafety, the firſt of January; and moreover they gave the Senators leave to offer whatever they ſhould think agreeable to the preſent ſituation of the Republic. The ſame day there was ſet up in Rome a declaration from Decimus, notifying his intention to keep Ciſalpine Gaul in obedience and ſubjection to the Senate, and to the Roman people.

Cicero made uſe of the liberty allowed by the Tribunes, and comprized in his opinion the whole ſyſtem of the preſent affairs of the Republic. He was not ſatisfied with giving a charge and power to the Conſuls elect, to appoint a guard to protect the Senate; obſerving that this unuſual precaution would be a ſlur on Anthony, on whoſe account it was taken. He attacked him perſonally, and drew him in the moſt odious light; declaring that he ought no longer to be conſidered as Conſul, but as a public enemy. He commended Decimus, who intended to oppoſe him; and extolled young Cæſar's ſervices to the ſkies, who had preſerved the Senate and the whole city from ſlaughter and deſtruction. Laſtly, he concluded that they ought to approve and authoriſe, by a decree, all that either of them had done, and ſhould thereafter do, in oppoſition to Anthony; adding, that it would be proper to confer honours on thoſe commanders, and to reward the ſoldiers, who ſtood up in the defence of the Republic and the authority of the Senate; and for that purpoſe, to give it in charge to

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the Conſuls elect, to move this affair at the next meeting of the Senate, which was to be on the firſt of January. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

This advice was followed: and Cicero, who was the author of it, when he came out of the Senate, mounted the Roſtra, and gave the people, who were there aſſembled, an account of the decree which had paſſed the houſe. He handled ſome points afreſh before this new audience, but ſtill with the ſame fire and energy, and his diſcourſe met with uncommon applauſe. Theſe two Orations delivered the 20th of December, one in the Senate, the other before the people, are his third and fourth Philippics.

Anthony anſwered Cicero's orations, and the Senate's decree, by facts. He puſhed on his enterpriſe, and having ſoon compelled Decimus, who found himſelf not in a condition to keep the field, to ſhut himſelf up in Modena, he beſieged him there. Appian.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, that in all Italy the Republican party, ſupported by the whole authority of the Senate, had no other troops but Decimus's, that it could entirely depend on. Anthony was at open war with him, and he received but a very uncertain aſſiſtance from Octavius, which might ſoon become more fatal than it was then uſeful. This ſame party acquired conſiderable forces, in Greece and in the Eaſt, under Brutus and under Caſſius, and with incredible diſpatch.

On leaving Italy, theſe two Republican Chiefs had formed their ſcheme of entering into the governments of Macedonia and Syria, which had been given them by Cæſar, ratified by the Senate, and afterwards taken from them by Anthony. They were immediately received at Athens with all imaginable honours; and the Athenians erected ſtatues to them, which they placed by thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who had formerly delivered Athens from tyranny. Caſſius did not ſtay long there, but departed to try his fortune in Syria. Brutus, being thus left alone, ſeemed for ſome time to be wholly employed, in his favorite Dio. l. XLVII. Plut. Brut.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Hor. Epiſ. II. 2. & Sat. I. 6.

ſtudies, with the moſt celebrated Philoſophers of the Academy, and Lyceum, Theomneſtes and Cratippus. But his real thoughts were bent on war. He began by engaging all the flower of the Roman youth which was at Athens, imbibing knowledge at the fountain-head of all arts and ſciences. Theſe were officers which he deſigned for the troops he ſhould afterwards raiſe. The moſt noted among them were young Cicero, and the poet Horace, whoſe father, though no more than a freed-man, and a collector of the taxes by profeſſion, but being a man of ſolid ſenſe and elevated notions, gave him an equal education with the Senators children. As for Cicero's Son, Brutus, after having examined him, commends him much, in a letter to his father. "I † am ſo well ſatisfied, ſays he, with your ſon, from his application and perſeverance, from his greatneſs of ſoul, and punctual diſcharge of all his duties, that he ſeems never to forget whoſe ſon he is. . . . . Be perſuaded, that to attain honours equal to your's, his father's glory will be his leaſt recommendation." And in fact it appears by ſeveral paſſages in Cicero's letters concerning his ſon, that this young man had a generous and honeſt heart: inſomuch that, though no very ſhining genius, he might have ſupported the glory of his name to a certain pitch, if he had not afterwards ſtupified himſelf with drink. When Brutus acquired an army, he gave him a commiſſion of rank, and made Horace a legionary Tribune.

Plin. XIV. 22.

Cic. Phil. X. Plut. Brut. Dio. l. XLVII. Appian. Civil. III. & IV.

He did not require much time to raiſe an army. Pompey's veterans, who had fought at Pharſalia, and were ſtill diſperſed about the country, readily entered under a Chief who defended the ſame cauſe. Some ſtragglers of Dolabella's army, who was already come into Aſia, and two bodies of horſe which were de-

† Cicero tuus ſic mihi ſe probat induſtriâ, patientiâ, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorſus nunquam dimittere videatur cogitationem, cujus ſit filius. . . . Tibi perſuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloriâ tuâ, ut adipiſcatur honores paternos. Ep. ad Brut. II. 3.

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ſigned for that Conſul, remained with Brutus. A legion, commanded by Piſo, Anthony's Lieutenant, came and preſented themſelves to Cicero's ſon. But what chiefly ſtrengthened Brutus, was the acceſſion of Q. Hortenſius the Deputy-governor of Macedonia, who, in lieu of keeping it for Anthony's brother, gave it up to Brutus, together with the command of all the troops. The Kings and neighbouring Princes of Macedonia imitated Hortenſius's example. Brutus alſo ſeized a great quantity of arms, which Cæſar had ordered to be made at Demetrias, a town of Theſſaly, for the ſervice of the Parthian war: and he received conſiderable ſums of money from the receivers-general. So that in an inſtant he had ample ſupplies of ſoldiers, arms, money, and all other neceſſaries. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

In theſe caſes, it is no inconſiderable matter to have made a beginning. Brutus's forces were ſhortly augmented by three legions, commanded by Vatinius. This man, whoſe bad morals, as I have already mentioned, rendered him thoroughly contemptible, but who nevertheleſs was not to be contemned as a ſoldier, had been ſent by Cæſar into Illyrica to ſuppreſs ſome commotions there. But the Illyricans courage being raiſed by Cæſar's death, they gave Vatinius ſuch a check, as obliged him to retire to Dyrrachium. During theſe tranſactions, C. Antonius, on whom the government of Macedonia had devolved by his brother's reſignation, arrived at Apollonia with ſeven cohorts: and being informed that he had no chance of getting Macedonia, he purpoſed to make himſelf ſome recompenſe, by ſecuring Vatinius's legions. But here again Brutus anticipated him, and got to Dyrrachium before him, where he found the gates ſhut againſt him. For Vatinius was Brutus's enemy, both in point of party, and in conſequence of the oppoſition of their characters, than which nothing could be greater. But the troops made no heſitation which of the two Chiefs to prefer. They hated the one, as much as they eſteemed and reſpected the other. And they even gave Brutus, before they entered

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. into his ſervice, a remarkable proof of their affection.

He had made a forced march croſs a country covered with ſnows. When he came before Dyrrachium, he found himſelf quite ſpent for want of ſuſtenance: and there being no proviſions to be had among the troops which had accompanied him, they were obliged to apply to Vatinius's advanced guards, to acquaint them with Brutus's ſituation, and to beg ſome ſupplies from them. Immediately the conteſt was, who ſhould firſt procure them the bread, wine, meat, and whatever elſe they wanted.

Vatinius ſoon perceived that there was no poſſibility of keeping troops, thus diſpoſed, under any diſcipline. He therefore made a virtue of neceſſity, opened the gates, and delivered up the command of the troops to Brutus.

That I may have no further occaſion to mention a man ſo little worthy of remembrance, I ſhall here obſerve, that two years after he obtained a triumph, under the Conſulſhip of Lepidus and Plancus. He ſcarcely deſerved this honour for his exploits in Illyricum. But the Triumvirs, who then were maſters of the Republic, were perhaps glad to reward ſo old and ſo faithful a ſervant of Cæſar.

C. Antonius did not take example by Vatinius, but held out to the laſt extremity. Perceiving the inhabitants of Apollonia to be entirely devoted to Brutus, he quitted a diſaffected city, and marched towards Buthrotum. In his march, Brutus cut three of his cohorts to pieces. Some time after Cicero's ſon gained a freſh advantage over him. And at laſt Brutus found means to ſurround him and all his troops, in a boggy country, ſo that he had no poſſibility of extricating himſelf. Brutus's troops were for attacking him: but he ſtopped them. "Let us "be merciful, ſaid he, to ſoldiers, which will ſhortly "be in our own ſervice." Nor was he miſtaken. Caius's troops, charmed with their enemy's generoſity, put themſelves under his command, and even delivered him

him up their General, who by this means became Brutus's priſoner. He was treated with the greateſt humanity: inſomuch that Brutus permitted him to write to the Senate, and in his letter to take the title of Proconſul. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Cic. ad Brut. II 7.

Theſe letters were read in the Senate the 13th of April, in the year of the Conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa. Brutus and Caſſius were ſtill in Italy, the middle of the month of Auguſt in the preceding year. So that Brutus employed very little more than ſeven months to raiſe a powerful army, and to make himſelf maſter of Greece, Macedonia, Illyricum, and Thrace.

Caſſius, during this time, made not leſs progreſs in the Eaſt. He, by his diſpatch, diveſted Dolabella of Syria, in the ſame manner as Brutus got Macedonia from C. Antonius. Dolabella had ſet out from Italy ſoon enough to have prevented Caſſius: and beſides, the dignity of Conſul with which he was inveſted, and the troops which he took with him, rendered him far ſuperior to a rival, who had no other recommendation than his character, and the merit of his former ſervices in that country, againſt the Parthians, after Caſſius's defeat. But Dolabella was in no hurry: he marched gently through Greece, Macedonia and Thrace: and when he came to Aſia Minor, he would not proceed till he had taken it from Trebonius, who was at that time the Governor. Herein he purſued the plan, concerted betwixt him and Anthony, of ſtripping all the Conſpirators, and appropriating to themſelves the ſpoils. Cic. Phil. XI. Dio. Appian.

As he found he could not carry his point by force, he had recourſe to fraud. He made the greateſt proteſtations of friendſhip to Trebonius, and profeſſed an uncommon regard for him; and at length ſo far ſucceeded, that if he did not put an entire confidence in him, at leaſt he did not guard againſt him, as againſt an enemy capable of the moſt deſperate attempt. At a time therefore when Trebonius thought himſelf ſafe in Smyrna, Dolabella entered the city by night, and

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. and made him his priſoner. And not content with depriving him of his liberty, his government, nor even of his life; under pretence of avenging Cæſar, but from a real motive of inſatiable avarice, without any conſideration for his rank of Conſul, put him to the torture for two days, to oblige him to diſcover where the public money was lodged: at the end of the ſecond day he ordered him to be beheaded. After the execution, the ſoldiers, as inhuman as their General, ſcandalouſly dragged his carcaſe to the ſea, and threw it in. They next carried his head, at the point of an halbert, through the ſtreets of Smyrna, and afterwards played with it, as with a ball; rolling it to one another on the pavement, until it entirely loſt the form of a human head. Trebonius loſt his life the firſt of all the Conſpirators: the reſt, for the moſt part, followed him ſoon.

Whilſt Dolabella by ſo deteſtable a method got poſſeſſion of a rich province, but which ſeems not to have been very well ſupplied with troops or ammunition, Caſſius made himſelf maſter of Syria and of eight legions which happened to be there, and had been aſſembled in that country on account of a civil war which had laſted near three years. This war broke out on the following occaſion.

Dio. Appian. When Cæſar left Syria, through which he had paſſed in coming out of Egypt, he gave the command of that province to a young man, a relation, named Sex. Cæſar. He alſo left one legion with him; but his age, effeminacy, and the voluptuous life he led, prevented his gaining the eſteem of his ſoldiers. Cecilius Baſſus, a Roman Knight, a man of ſenſe and courage, and a partiſan of Pompey, who, after his patron's misfortune, had retreated to Tyre, thought from this circumſtance, that it would be no difficult matter to ſupplant this new Governor. He began by ſecuring that city: and ſucceeded without any trouble; by reaſon the Tyrians were not well affected to Cæſar, who, conformable to his conſtant practice of approving of all methods to raiſe money, not except-

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ing ſacrilege, had plundered the treaſures of the Temple of Hercules, who was held in great veneration among them. Baſſus afterwards attacked Sex. Cæſar: but meeting with a repulſe, he contrived to debauch his ſoldiers, and managed his intrigues ſo well and ſo luckily, that they at laſt aſſaſſinated Sextus. The legion acknowledged Baſſus for their Chief, and in this manner he became maſter of Syria. But, as he expected not to be long quiet in his new government, he made choice of Apame, a very ſtrong city, and there formed his arſenal; he alſo augmented his troops as much as poſſible, by enliſting every one that offered, even the very ſlaves. This came to paſs whilſt Cæſar was carrying on the war in Africa againſt Metellus Scipio. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Baſſus kept his ground during the remainder of the Dictator's life, who did not think this affair of ſufficient importance to go there in perſon. Antiſtius Vetus by his order beſieged Baſſus in Apame, and was repulſed by the Parthians, whom this politic Knight had found means to engage in his quarrel. Statius Murcus, a man of merit ſent with three legions from Rome, at the expiration of his Prætorſhip, to govern Syria in quality of Proconſul, had no better ſucceſs. He called Q. Marcius Criſpus to his aſſiſtance, who brought him three more legions out of Bithynia: ſo that with all theſe forces united, they found it no difficult matter to ſhut up Baſſus in Apame, but they did not find it ſo eaſy to force him there. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 9.

Affairs were in this ſituation, when Caſſius attended by his little convoy landed in Syria. Lentulus Spinther, Trebonius's Quæſtor, had ſupplied him with ſome men and money, which he makes great merit of in a letter to Cicero. But theſe forces were not at all proportionable to the enterpriſe. Caſſius's name, his reputation, the cauſe he ſupported, theſe were the means by which he at once became maſter of eight legions. The ſix of the beſiegers were given up to him by the Generals themſelves. Baſſus, whom Cic. ad Fam. XII. 14.

Ap-

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Appian reckons to have two legions, to wit, that of Sex. Cæſar, and another which he himſelf had formed out of the new levies, required a great deal of entreaty to give up the command. He thought it very hard that he ſhould have been at all the pains and hazard, and that another ſhould enjoy the fruits of his labours. But not being able to prevent his ſoldiers ſending a deputation to Caſſius with a tender of their ſervices, he was obliged to open the gates of Apame.

Cic. ad Fam. XII. 12.

This firſt ſucceſs, ſo great, ſo unexpected, was immediately followed by a ſecond of the ſame nature. Dolabella had ſent his Lieutenant Allienus into Egypt, to demand the aſſiſtance of Cleopatra, who then was ſole Regent, having deſtroyed the laſt of the Ptolemys, her brother and huſband, by poiſon. The Queen conſented willingly, on account of the regard ſhe preſerved for Cæſar's memory. She ſent Dolabella an Egyptian fleet, and Allienus conducted by land four legions, compoſed partly of the remains of the armies formerly commanded by Pompey and Craſſus, and partly of the Roman cohorts which Cæſar had left in Alexandria. Caſſius had notice of this march; he went and met Allienus in Judea, and obliged him to give up his four legions. In this manner Caſſius found himſelf at the head of twelve legions, the 7th of March of the Conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, which day the letter he wrote to Cicero, giving an account of theſe lucky events, was dated.

Joſeph. Antiq. XV. 4.

Cic. ad Fam. XII. 11.

Cic. Phil. X. & XI.

One may judge how great was the Senate's joy when they heard of the forces of Brutus and Caſſius. They immediately confirmed by public authority, conformable to Cicero's advice, the government of the provinces and the command of the armies which they had appropriated, without any other title than their zeal, and the neceſſity of the times. They inveſted them with the moſt ample power that had ever been given any Proconſul: and as Dolabella, on account of Trebonius's murther, had been declared a public enemy, the Senate charged Caſſius to make war againſt him; with this remarkable clauſe, that in what-

whatever province he ſhould enter in order to proſe- A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.
cute that war, he ſhould carry a ſuperior command to the governors, or particular magiſtrates of that province.

To conclude at once Dolabella's hiſtory, I ſhall obſerve that he ſoon cloſed his life in a manner worthy his preſumption and ambition. Notwithſtanding he was aſſiſted by Cleopatra, by the Rhodians, the Lydians, and ſome other people of thoſe parts, he ſtill found his forces far inferior to Caſſius's. Liberty, that endearing ſound to the Romans, and the authority of the Senate determined in favour of the latter, all the Romans which were ſettled in Aſia Minor and Syria. By this means he was reinforced by ſeveral ſquadrons of veſſels, which were put into his hands by their commanders, and of them he formed a numerous fleet, and put Statius Murcus at the head of it. Serapion alſo, the Governor of the iſle of Cyprus for the crown of Egypt, but who appears to have been in an oppoſite party to Cleopatra, and perhaps had ſome attachments with Arſinoë her ſiſter, ſent Caſſius ſome ſupplies. Appian. Dio.

Nevertheleſs Dolabella, blinded by his avarice, undertook to recover his government of Syria. He had alſo taken the reſolution, in caſe he ſhould not ſucceed there, to embark his troops on board ſome tranſports, he had collected for that purpoſe, and go and join Anthony in Italy. But he ſoon found the impoſſibility of executing this deſign. Two important cities, Tarſus in Cilicia and Laodicea in Syria, ſtill held out for him. To the latter of theſe cities he went, and there fortified himſelf; but was ſoon followed by Caſſius, who came and beſieged him, both by ſea and land. They had ſeveral engagements, which always proved to Dolabella's diſadvantage: and at laſt the city was delivered up to Caſſius's troops by treachery. Several of the ſally-ports were left open to the beſiegers, by which they entered, and made themſelves maſters of the place. Dolabella perceiving himſelf near falling into the hands of his Cic. ad Fam. XII. 14. & 15.

A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44. his enemies, and apprehending he ſhould be treated in the ſame manner he had ſerved Trebonius, ordered a ſlave, in whom he could moſt confide, to kill him. The ſlave obeyed, and then ſtabbing himſelf with the ſame ſword, fell dead at his maſter's feet. Caſſius ordered Dolabella's corpſe to be honourably interred, being of opinion, that humanity would not allow him to retaliate the outrages which had been exerciſed on the body of the unfortunate Trebonius. He alſo treated the officers and ſoldiers, which had ſerved under Dolabella, with great mildneſs, and though they had been declared public enemies as well as their Chief, yet he rather choſe to augment his army with them, than ſtrictly to put in execution the Senate's decree: he therefore enliſted as many as would enter.

A. Gell. III. 9. It may not perhaps be improper on this occaſion, to make mention of the horſe Sejanus. This was a horſe of extraordinary beauty, and ſaid to be of the ſame breed, as the horſes of Diomedes King of Thrace, which were fed on human fleſh, and which Hercules, after killing Diomedes, took to Argos. But this fine horſe was reckoned unlucky to his maſters, becauſe all, through whoſe hands he paſſed, came to an unhappy end. The firſt was one Cn. Seïus, from whom the horſe was called Sejanus, which is as much as to ſay Seïus's horſe. This Seïus was executed by Anthony's order. Dolabella, having heard ſpeak of this extraordinary horſe, had a mind to purchaſe it, as he went by Argos in his way to Syria; he did ſo at the l. 781. 15. price of a hundred thouſand Seſterces. We have juſt ſeen what was the end of him. From him he paſſed to Caſſius, and from Caſſius to Anthony: and theſe two, as well as Dolabella, were reduced to a neceſſity of killing themſelves. From hence this horſe became a proverb: and in order to expreſs a man uncommonly unfortunate, they ſaid that he had the horſe Sejanus.

I return now to the public tranſactions. One may perceive by the foregoing facts that, in the year ſucceeding

ceeding Cæſar's death, all the forces of the Roman empire Eaſtward from Greece, were devoted to the Republican party. Cornificius ſupported the ſame intereſt in Africa, and was attached to the Senate, to Cicero, to Brutus and Caſſius. Sex. Pompeius, who in the courſe of the ſame year, made himſelf maſter of Sicily, thought more of eſtabliſhing his own particular authority, than of reſtoring the public liberty. But as he was a declared enemy to Cæſar's memory, and as, in caſe Brutus and Caſſius had ſucceeded, he had neither ſufficient merit, nor forces, to prevent their purſuing their own meaſures, he may be reckoned in the ſame party. Theſe were the armies and the Chiefs who ſupported the Republican faction; and if all theſe forces could have joined D. Brutus, and acted in concert in Italy, the Republic had been ſaved. But they happened not to be ready in time: and an inevitable delay was the cauſe of their deſtruction and the ruin of liberty. A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

Weſtward, of three Generals, who at the head of three armies ruled in Gaul and Spain, two were but little to be depended on, and the third was too far off to be of any aſſiſtance to Italy. Lepidus, Proconſul of Gallia Narbonenſis and Citerior Spain, was a man of much ambition and little genius, without principles or reſolution, but ill affected to the Republic, and who had no other view than to aggrandiſe himſelf; this man, but from the circumſtances of the times, would never have made any extraordinary figure in life. Plancus, Proconſul of Gallia Major, who jointly with D. Brutus was in nomination for the Conſulſhip, had ſenſe and parts: but, as he promiſed much and performed but little, there was no confiding in him: he was not ſo ill-intentioned as Lepidus, but as little diſpoſed to hazard his fortune for the public cauſe. Pollio, Proconſul of Ulterior Spain, differed from them both. He was eminent for his genius and courage, and though he had been formerly attached to Cæſar, yet he ſtill retained a tinge of the Republican ſpirit. But he was too remote to be

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. be engaged in the center of affairs: they were decided without him; and that he might not be entirely uſeleſs, he thought himſelf obliged to follow Anthony's colours.

All theſe Generals, from all parts of the empire, were attentive on Italy, wherein, beſides the three armies mentioned above, ſeverally commanded by Decimus, Anthony, and Octavius, the Conſuls Hirtius and Panſa were raiſing freſh forces, as I ſhall relate, as ſoon as I have finiſhed what little remains to be ſaid of the year in which Cæſar died.

I have hitherto taken but little notice of thoſe pretended prodigies, with which antiquity abounds, as they are commonly either falſe, or altered in the relation, or natural effects which the ignorance of cauſes has transformed into ſurpriſing wonders. But it is impoſſible to paſs over in ſilence that remarkable weakneſs in the Sun's rays during the whole year of Cæſar's death. Every body is acquainted with that beautiful paſſage of Virgil, wherein it is mentioned.

" * The Sun the fate of Cæſar did foretel,
And pitied Rome, when Rome in Cæſar fell.
In iron clouds conceal'd the public light,
And impious mortals fear'd eternal night.
DRYDEN.

Not only Virgil and all the Poets of that time, but the graveſt Hiſtorians atteſt this phænomenon. The ſpots, which our Aſtrologers have diſcovered, by the teleſcope, in the Sun's face, explain it: and it was no more than an incruſtation, which being thicker than ordinary, was more difficult to be diſſolved.

Dio. l. XLV. Val. Max. VIII. 5. In this ſame year, Dio mentions the death of Servilius Iſauricus, a venerable old man, who had lived ninety years, in a conſtant ſtate of good health and a

* Ille etiam extincto miſeratus Cæſare Romam,
Quum caput obſcurâ nitidum ferrugine texit,
Impiaque æternam timuerunt ſecula noctem.
VIRG. Georg. I. 466.

per-

perfect uſe of all his faculties. He had been honoured with the Conſulſhip, Cenſorſhip, and a triumph, and was father of that Iſauricus whom Cæſar took for his Collegue in his ſecond Conſulſhip. The abovementioned Dio and Valerius Maximus have thought it worth their while to tranſmit to poſterity a remarkable circumſtance in his life. As he was paſſing by the Forum he ſaw a criminal arraigned, and the witneſſes under examination. Whereupon he came forward, and addreſſing himſelf to the Judges, who were much ſurpriſed to ſee him intereſt himſelf in an affair wherein he did not ſeem the leaſt concerned, he ſaid to them: "I know not who that man is, "nor wherefore he is accuſed. I only know that I "met him one day in a narrow way, he on horſe-"back, and I a-foot; and that, not only he did not "diſmount, but purſued his way, without ſo much "as ſtopping, or ſhewing me the leaſt mark of re-"ſpect. I therefore ſubmit it to you, Gentlemen, "whether what I have alledged againſt him, ought "to have any weight in the ſentence you are going "to pronounce." Whereupon the Judges, according to the teſtimony of the above authors, would ſcarcely hear the priſoner's defence, but unanimouſly condemned him, imagining him capable of any thing, who could fail in reſpect to ſuch a man as Servilius Iſauricus. A.R. 708. Ant. C. 44.

I now proceed to the year wherein Hirtius and Panſa were Conſuls.

SECT. II.

The diſpoſitions of the two conſuls, with regard to the ſtate of the republick. The Senate, contrary to the advice of Cicero, orders a deputation to Anthony. Octavius is inveſted with the title and authority of Proprætor. Cicero becomes ſurety for him to the Senate. A ſtatue is decreed to Lepidus. Inſtructions given to the deputies of the Senate. Sulpitius, one of them, dies upon arriving at the camp of Anthony. The bad ſucceſs of the deputation. A tumult is declared by the Senate. A ſtatue is decreed to Sulpitius. A new deputation is ordered to Anthony by the Senate. Cicero, whom they put in the number of the deputies, excuſes himſelf, and thus renders the affair abortive. Lepidus writes to the Senate to exhort them to peace. Cicero oppoſes it. Anthony's letter to Hirtius and Octavius. Hirtius and Octavius approach to Modena. Pigeons employed to carry and bring back diſpatches. A fight wherein Panſa is wounded. Anthony in returning to his camp is attacked, and overcome by Hirtius. Octavius, who was left to guard the camp, defends himſelf againſt Lucius, brother of Anthony. The ſenate extols prodigiouſly the advantage gained over Anthony. A new battle, where the lines of Anthony are forced. Hirtius is killed. Anthony raiſes the ſiege, and gains the Alps. Octavius does not purſue him. Difficulties in unravelling the intrigues of the times which followed the raiſing of the ſiege of Modena. The death of Panſa. Anthony is declared an enemy to the Publick. The generoſity of Atticus. The Senate endeavours to pull down Octavius. An equivocal expreſſion of Cicero with regard to young Cæſar. The oppoſite projects and intereſts of Octavius and the Senate. The Senate gives Octavius a pretext which he makes uſe of to declare himſelf. Octavius approaches towards Anthony. He invites Lepidus and Pollio to join with him. He aſpires to the Conſulſhip. Cicero becomes his dupe, and

ſup-

ſupports him. The Senate rejects the demand of Octavius. The junction of Lepidus and Anthony. The Senate has recourſe to Octavius: who takes that opportunity to uſurp the Conſulſhip. Complaints of Brutus againſt Cicero, contained in two letters, the one to Cicero himſelf, and the other to Atticus. The foundation of the town of Lyons.

A. HIRTIUS.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

THE Conſuls entered on their charge, were both creatures of Cæſar. Panſa even owed his riſe to him upon a particular account: for being the ſon of one who was baniſhed, it would not have been poſſible for him to have arrived at theſe honours, if Cæſar had not removed the obſtacle which the laws of Sylla laid in his way. It ſeemed as if they were attached not only to the fortune, but to the perſon of their friend; for they cheriſhed his memory ſtill after his death, as Cicero * obſerves particularly of Hirtius; and they were very zealous, eſpecially the laſt, for the validity of the acts and decrees of the Dictator. Thus the Senate, which Anthony called juſtly enough the camp of Pompey, had ſufficient motives for diſtruſting the Conſuls.

Cic. Phil. x. 16. Ibid. xiii. 26.

They, on the other hand, pretended to be good and faithful citizens. They ſhewed themſelves friends to peace, good order, and the laws, ſo far as to conſent that the murder of Cæſar ſhould remain unrevenged, rather than give occaſion for a civil war; eſpecially as the indecent and tyrannical conduct of Anthony had made them revolt, and they were perſuaded of the neceſſity of bringing him to reaſon, and of reſtraining his outrages. By this method they acted agreeably to the ſyſtem of the Senate, the great object of which was the war againſt Anthony, though

* Meus diſcipulus——valde amat illum quem Brutus noſter ſaucia-vit. Cic. ad Att. xiv. 22.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. they did not always proceed ſo faſt as the Senate would have wiſhed, and particularly Cicero, whoſe ardour would neither ſuffer obſtacle nor delay.

Cic. Phil. v. On the 1ſt of January, the Senate being aſſembled, and the Conſuls having propoſed to deliberate on the ſituation of the Republic, Cicero adviſed them to act with all imaginable vigour. Fufius Calenus, who had been conſul ſome years before, father-in-law to Panſa, giving his opinion firſt, had broached the advice of ſending deputies from the Senate to Anthony. Cicero refuted him with ſurprizing vehemence, ſupporting his opinion with very weighty reaſons. He obſerved, that it would diſcover a viſible want of reſolution in the conduct of the Senate, if, after having upon the 20th of December preceding, extolled thoſe who had taken arms againſt Anthony, they ſhould in thirteen days time propoſe a negotiation with him. He thought they had reaſon to apprehend, that by this weak conduct they would intimidate the ſoldiers and people of Italy, who ardently eſpouſed the publick cauſe. In ſhort, he foretold that the deputation would be unſucceſsful. * "If you order, ſays he to "the ſenators, your deputies to beſeech Anthony, he "will deſpiſe you. If, on the other hand, you pre- "tend to give him orders, he will not hearken to you." Cicero concluded then, that the beſt way was to puſh the war with the utmoſt vigour, and for that end to give full power to the Conſuls, ſtrengthening them with the authority of the famous decree of the Senate, to which they had recourſe upon the moſt preſſing occaſions; that is to ſay, by ordering them to take care that the Republic ſhould ſuffer no harm. Theſe two contrary opinions divided the Senate, and the debate laſted three days. At laſt Fufius gained his point, and the deputies were named, all perſons of conſular dignity; to wit, the famous Counſellor Servius Sulpicius Piſo, father-in-law to Cæſar, and Philip, hus-

* Legatos decernitis: ſi ut deprecentur, contemnet; ſi ut impere- tis, non audiet. Cic. Phil. v. 25.

ban-

band to Atia mother of Octavius. But in the mean time it was reſolved that they ſhould continue briſkly all the neceſſary preparations for war. And actually Hirtius, though not well recovered from a diſeaſe he had lately laboured under, ſet out a few days after at the head of a body of troops to go and join young Cæſar, who had already commenced hoſtilities againſt Anthony, and had taken from him his elephants and ſome cavalry. A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Another thing deliberated upon by the Conſuls in the Senate, the 1ſt of January, conformable to a decree of the 20th of December preceding, was the rewards which were proper to be given to generals and ſoldiers, who had declared in favour of the Republick againſt Anthony. This affair was very delicate, with regard to Octavius, whom the Senate neither cared to diſoblige, nor to recompence; becauſe, on the one hand they had need of him, and on the other, it was dangerous to nouriſh his ambition and too elevated hopes. Cicero was quite determined in the affair, and adviſed them to inveſt him with the title of Pro-prætor, to make him a Senator, and to grant him the privilege of demanding offices ſeveral years before the age preſcribed by the laws. All this paſſed, and, at the deſire of Philip, the honour of a ſtatue was added.

What was moſt ſingular in Cicero's harangue on this ſubject was, that he undertook to diſſipate the alarms, which were too well founded, of thoſe who were apprehenſive that the ſon of Cæſar would follow his father's foot-ſteps. He extolled the attachment of Octavius to the Senate; he affirmed that Brutus and Caſſius had nothing to fear from that quarter, and that he had ſacrificed to the Republic all his particular reſentments. He went even ſo far as to become ſurety for him to the Senate *. "I promiſe," ſaid he, "I aſſure you, I engage to you, that Octavius

* Permitto, recipio, ſpondeo, P. C. C. Cæſarem talem ſemper fore civem qualis hodie ſit, qualemque eum maximè eſſe velle & optare debemus. Cic. Phil. v. 51.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. "will always act as a good citizen, as he does now, "and that he will follow the beſt maxims that we "could wiſh." But he promiſed a thing that no ways depended upon himſelf; and the event, as is well known, proved that he was too forward. He thought himſelf, however, obliged to ſpeak after this manner, in order to eſtabliſh a confidence between the Senate and Octavius, which he imagined to be neceſſary for the good of affairs.

The Senate, at the ſame time that they heaped honours on young Cæſar, ratified their promiſes made to the troops, engaging to give them, after the victory, money, ſettlements, and exemption from military duty, both them and their children.

I make no mention of the encomiums and teſtimonies of approbation and eſteem laviſhed upon Decimus; the thing ſpeaks itſelf.

But the Senate laid hold of the opportunity of trying to fix the inconſtancy of Lepidus, who had not yet declared himſelf. He was father-in-law to Brutus, which ſhould have inclined him to the part of the Republic. On the other hand, his vanity, or fooliſh ambition, was but too capable to determine him, as it afterwards happened, to join with Anthony in oppreſſing their liberty. They obliged him, therefore, by decreeing him the honour of a gilded-ſtatue, which was to be placed upon the Orators Tribunal, or whatever part of the City he ſhould make choice of. All this was done on a very extraordinary, and frivolous pretext, excepting only one article, which was really agreeable to the Senate, I mean the ſervice which Lepidus had rendered to Sextus Pompeius, in order to reſtore him to his rights.

Though the partizans of Anthony had procured a ſixth decree of the Senate for a deputation, yet they were not capable to draw up the inſtructions with which the deputies were to be charged. They were very ſevere, and carried an injunction to Anthony, to forbear moleſting Decimus Brutus, the Conſul elect; to raiſe the ſiege of Modena; to make no devaſtation in

Cic. Phil. vi.

in the province; to retire on this ſide the Rubicon, provided he did not approach nearer Rome than 200 miles *; not to inliſt any ſoldiers; and, in ſhort, to refer his intereſt and pretenſions to the determination of the Senate and People of Rome. Cicero, in giving an account of theſe inſtructions, ſays, very juſtly, That they were not ſo properly propoſitions of peace, as expreſs orders to a rebel. He foretold at the ſame time, in a very poſitive manner, that Anthony would not obey them; and his prediction was verified to a tittle. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Ser. Sulpicius, the beſt of the three deputies from the Senate, died upon arriving at Anthony's camp. He was ill before his departure from Rome, and it was only out of pure complaiſance to the Senate, of which he was one of the chief ornaments, that he accepted a commiſſion which muſt endanger his life. Cic. Phil. ix.

Of the two remaining deputies, Piſo and Philip, one was a friend to Anthony, and the other a man of ſoft character. By this means they acquitted themſelves of their charge like men who were not very zealous in the cauſe, contenting themſelves with tranſmitting their orders in writing to Anthony.

Anthony had ſo little regard to this deputation, that he cauſed the walls of Modena to be immediately demoliſhed, in preſence of the deputies. He expreſſed himſelf very bitterly againſt Cicero, whom he alledged to be the author of the inſtructions, at which he was very much offended. He complained of the Senate, which uſed him ill in favour of her child (for ſo he called Octavius). He declared that Dec. Brutus ſhould pay for all the reſt of Cæſar's murderers; ſo that the death of that great man might not remain unexpiated, at leaſt by one victim. He did not allow the deputies to enter Modena, according to their orders, to confer with Decimus. In fine, his anſwer was very haughty, and burthened with demands which he was well aſſured they would never grant. It was Ibid. viii. 20. Appian. Dio.

* More than ſixty-ſix leagues.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Cic. Phil. viii.

as follows, and began in a modeſt enough manner: "I renounce the government which was given me by the people; I lay down the command of the army; I by no means refuſe to become private again; I forget every thing, and am reconciled to all the world." But he adds intolerable conditions: "I demand that you grant to my ſix legions, and to my cavalry, and troops of guards, all the ſpoil they have made, and the eſtates they are ſettled in; that thoſe to whom I have given lands, in concert with Dolabella, may remain in poſſeſſion of them; that whatever decrees my collegue and I have made with regard to ourſelves, following the Memoirs of Cæſar for a pattern, ſhall remain in their full force; that no account of the money * which was in the temple of Ops, ſhall be demanded of me; that a pardon ſhall be granted to all who are with me, for whatever they may have done againſt the law." In ſhort, he did not propoſe to quit his pretenſions to Decimus's government, without being very well recompenſed for it. "I give up, ſaid he, the government of Ciſalpine Gaul; but I demand that of the Gauls lately conquered by Cæſar, together with ſix legions which ſhall be recruited out of the army of D. Brutus; and I ſhall enjoy this government as long as M. Brutus and C. Caſſius ſhall keep the governments of provinces, whether during their Conſulſhip, or in quality of Pro-conſuls." One may eaſily obſerve, that the future Conſulſhip of Brutus and Caſſius was a contrivance of Anthony's to give jealouſy to Octavius, and to make him ſenſible, that in caſe of neceſſity, he might be reconciled to him.

Piſo and Philip were ſo little intereſted in the cauſe with which they were charged, that they reported the anſwer of Anthony to the Senate themſelves, which might indeed paſs for a declaration of war. Cicero put this interpretation upon it, and he propoſed that

* This money amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand Seſterces, as has been ſaid elſewhere; that is, near five million and a half Sterling.

a Ro-

a Roman, who in a Roman Colony beſieged a Conſul, appointed General of the Romans, ſhould be declared an enemy to the public. Anthony had ſtill friends enough in the Senate to ward off this blow. A Tumult was declared, which was only a ſofter word ſubſtituted for that of war. As for the reſt, all the orders were given, and they acted in every reſpect, as in a real war, and even a dangerous one. They continued to raiſe both men and money. Arms of all kinds were prepared; and all the citizens were ordered, inſtead of the Toga, to wear the military Garb, as in the time of the greateſt danger. Every thing wore the appearance of war, though at the ſame time they would not admit the name. Cicero's zeal was ſo ardent, that he would not make uſe of the privilege annexed to the conſular dignity of wearing the robe of peace on ſuch emergencies. He put on, with the other citizens, the warlike habit, to animate them by his example to exclude all hope, and every propoſition of peace. A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Cic. Phil. xxxii.

With the ſame deſign he ſupported ſtrongly the propoſal made by the Conſul Panſa, to honour the memory of Ser. Sulpitius, who had died in the character of Deputy from the Senate, and during the time that he was employed in that office. Cicero judged, very juſtly, that the honours decreed to Sulpitius would be a ſtain upon Anthony; and that the ſame monument which preſerved the remembrance of the deputy of the Senate, would bring to mind the haughtineſs with which Anthony had rejected the deputation. He voted, therefore, to erect a ſtatue to Sulpitius, and his advice was followed, as appears by the teſtimony of the lawyer Pomponius, who aſſures us that this ſtatue remained in his time. Ib. ix. Pomp. de Aurig. Juris.

Cicero, in the mean time, could not hinder them from renewing propoſitions for a reconciliation. Anthony had always ſome friends at Rome. A little while before two Prætors, one of which was Ventidius; who rendered himſelf ſo famous afterwards; one Tribune, and two deſigned Tribunes, had left the city

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. to join Anthony, or to be of ſervice to him in other parts of Italy. Calenus, who remained at Rome, was not leſs uſeful to him, and it was by their repreſentations and thoſe of Piſo, that the Senate deliberated anew upon the means of terminating the quarrel, rather by treaty than by force of arms. Panſa ſupported them, and a new deputation was decreed, compoſed of perſons of conſular dignity; in the number of which was Cicero himſelf. He durſt not at firſt venture to oppoſe it, but in the next aſſembly of the Senate he laid open, in an oration, which is his twelfth Philippic, the invincible reaſons which obliged him to decline a commiſſion of that nature. It is certain that Cicero's paſſion could by no means be agreeable to Anthony; and that it was only an illuſion to think of negotiating a peace by means of his mediation. But further, he found fault with the reſolution of the Senate, and undertook to prove that, conſidering Anthony's character, his injuſtice, violence, tyrannical ſpirit, and the train of abandoned men he had about him, they could not hope to terminate the affair by an accommodation; and that they muſt either overcome or periſh. Cicero having thus excuſed himſelf from going, the other Deputies remained likewiſe at Rome, and the reſolution of the Senate had no effect. A little time afterwards, the Conſul Panſa, having finiſhed his buſineſs in the city, went to put himſelf at the head of the troops, levied by his orders, to make war againſt Anthony, conjointly with his Collegue and young Cæſar.

Cic. Phil. xii.

Dio. Cicero had ſtill another attack to encounter in the Senate, on account of a letter from Lepidus, which exhorted them to peace. The repreſentations of Lepidus made the ſtronger impreſſion, from his having the command of a powerful army, and their having very good reaſon to diſtruſt his attachment to the Republick. Fluctuating and irreſolute as the Senate was, Lepidus kept in with it, and at the ſame time was in a good underſtanding with Anthony. He even ſent him ſupplies, but with a ſingular precaution, for

for he gave no orders to the general officer who commanded them, nor did he inform him which of the two parties he was to join. This officer, whoſe name was Silanus, put a proper conſtruction on the intention of the general, and marched his troops into Anthony's Camp. Whether it was that this had not happened at the time that Lepidus wrote to the Senate, or that Cicero choſe to connive at the diſſimulation of that artful man, he avoided, upon refuting him in his thirteenth Philippic, to diſcover any diſcontent againſt him; nay, he even goes ſo far as to praiſe him. But he perſiſts firmly in his opinion of the impoſſibility of a peace. "What * peace, ſays he, can you have with Anthony? while there is no puniſhment inflicted upon that wretch which can ſatisfy the juſt vengeance of the Romans." A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

His zeal, which was always violent, was animated by a letter of Anthony's, in which he ſaw himſelf perſonally attacked, in two different places. This letter, which was wrote by Anthony to Hirtius and Octavius, before Panſa was arrived at the camp, had been ſent by Hirtius to Cicero. It is inſerted at full length in the xiiith Philippic: I ſhall here tranſlate the greateſt part of it, becauſe it is the moſt conſiderable ſpecimen remaining of Anthony's writings; and, beſides, it is very artfully turned to ſow diviſions among the partizans of Cæſar and Pompey, which were united againſt him. † It begins thus: "The death of Trebonius, when I heard of it, gave me no leſs grief than joy. There is, doubtleſs, very good reaſon to rejoice, that

* Cum hoc pax eſſe quæ poteſt? cujus ne ſupplicio quidem ullo ſatiari videtur poſſe populus Romanus. Cic. Phil. xiii. 21.

† Cognitâ morte Trebonii, non plus gaviſus ſum, quàm dolui, Dediſſe pœnas ſceleratum cineri atque oſſibus clariſſimi viri, & apparuiſſe numen Deorum intra finem anni vertentis, aut jam ſoluto ſupplicio parricidii, aut impendente lætandum eſt. Hoſtem judicatum hoc tempore Dolabellam, eò quod ſicarium occiderit, & videri cariorem populo Romano filium ſcurræ quàm C. Cæſarem, patriæ parentem, ingemiſcendum eſt. Acerbiſſimum verò eſt, te, A. Hirti, ornatum beneficiis Cæſaris, & talem ab eo relictum, qualem ipſe miraris, & te, ô puer, qui omnia ejus nomini debes, id agere ut jure damnatus ſit Dolabella, ut veneſica hæc liberetur ab obſidione, ut quàm potentiſſimus ſit Caſſius atque Brutus.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. that wretch hath ſatisfied, by his death, the manes of that great man, whoſe life he had conſpired againſt; and that the providence of the Gods has manifeſted itſelf before the end of the year, by the puniſhment which one of the parricides has already undergone, and which threatens another of them. But that Dolabella ſhould have been declared an enemy to the publick for having killed an aſſaſſin, and that the ſon of a buffoon (it is Trebonius, whom he marks out by this ſcurrilous epithet) ſhould appear dearer to the Romans than Cæſar, the father of his country, is, indeed, a ſubject greatly to be lamented. But the moſt affecting circumſtance is, that you, Hirtius, whom Cæſar loaded with favours, and raiſed to a degree of fortune, which is even ſurpriſing to yourſelf; and that you, likewiſe, young Octavius, who owe every thing to his name, that both of you ſhould uſe your influence to make the condemnation pronounced againſt Dolabella appear lawful, and be put in execution; and that that deceitful man (meaning Decimus) whom I now keep ſhut up in Modena, ſhould be delivered from the ſiege; and that Caſſius and Brutus ſhould acquire a formidable power."

Anthony proved what he advanced, by enumerating all the falſe meaſures which he alledged had been taken by Hirtius and Octavius, againſt the intereſt of their party. The firſt that he mentions is, their having made choice of Cicero *, one of the vanquiſhed, for their Counſellor and Chief; and he ends the whole detail of their conduct with this exclamation. "What could Pompey himſelf do more, was he to return to life; or his ſon, if he was at Rome?"

He adds: "You † tell me that I muſt not hope for peace, if I do not ſuffer Decimus to go out of Modena; or, if I do not furniſh him with proviſions. Is this the requeſt of thoſe veterans whom you have

* Victum Ciceronem ducem habuiſtis.

† Negatis pacem fieri poſſe, niſi aut emiſero Brutum, aut frumento juvero. Quid? hoc placetne veteranis iſtis? quibus adhuc omnia integra ſunt: quoniam vos aſſentationibus & venenatis muneribus veniſtis.

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prevailed upon, and who, nevertheleſs, are ſtill undetermined? As for you, you have entered into engagements; you have ſold yourſelves; and the flatteries you have liſtened to, together with the poiſoned preſents which you have received, leave you no longer at liberty to draw back. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

"You tell me that there has been mention made in the Senate for peace, but I do not expect any reaſonable, or moderate propoſitions from that quarter. It * belongs more properly to you to conſider which is the beſt plan, and the moſt uſeful ſtep to be taken; whether to revenge the death of Trebonius, or that of Cæſar; whether we ought to ruin one another in order to revive the cauſe of Pompey, which has been ſo many times traverſed and ſubdued, or whether we ought not to unite ourſelves, in order to prevent our becoming the ſport of our common enemies, who will be equal gainers by the ruin of either your forces or mine. Hitherto fortune has ſpared herſelf this ſpectacle, and was not willing to ſee two members of the ſame body, or two armies of the ſame party, fight againſt each other, at the inſtigation of Cicero, who endeavours to ſet them together by the ears. Doubtleſs, he ought to eſteem himſelf very happy for having impoſed upon you, by means of the ſame titles and honours by which he boaſted to have impoſed upon Cæſar."

Anthony further poſitively aſſured them, that Lepidus and Plancus were both of his party; but in this he went too far, at leaſt with regard to Plancus: However, it is ſcarce to be doubted but that he was on good terms with both of them.

* Vos potiùs animadvertite utrum ſit elegantius & partibus utilius, Trebonii mortem perſequi, an Cæſaris: & utrum ſit æquius, concurrere nos quo facilius reviviſcat Pompeianorum cauſa toties jugulata, an conſentire, ne ludibrio ſimus inimicis: quibus utri noſtrûm ceciderint, lucro futurum. Quod ſpectaculum adhuc ipſa Fortuna vitavit, ne videret unius corporis duas acies, laniſtâ Cicerone, dimicantes: qui uſque eo felix eſt, ut iiſdem ornamentis deceperit vos, quibus deceptum Cæſarem gloriatus eſt.

Mean

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Mean while his final reſolution was this: "If * the Gods, ſays he, favourable as I hope to the juſtneſs of my intentions, grant me happy ſucceſs, life will be very pleaſant and agreeable to me. If it happens otherwiſe, I enjoy, beforehand, with infinite ſatisfaction, the idea of the puniſhment which you muſt unavoidably meet with. For ſince the partizans of Pompey, though they are vanquiſhed, carry their inſolence ſo far, what will they do if they become conquerors? I ſhall leave you to make an experiment of this."

But not chuſing to take leave of them in ſuch harſh expreſſions, he adds an offer of a reconciliation: "Whatever injuſtice † (ſays he) my friends have done me, I can ſtill forget what I have ſuffered by it, provided they can repent what they have done, and are ready to join with me in avenging the death of Cæſar."

This letter furniſhed thoſe to whom it was directed with agreeable matter for reflection. It is uncertain what effect it produced on the mind of Hirtius, who died ſoon after. But as to Octavius, he made too good uſe of it, as will appear in the ſequel.

In the mean time it produced no viſible change in the conduct of the three Chiefs, who ſupported the cauſe of the Senate. It ſeems that Hirtius and Panſa thought it neceſſary to chaſtiſe Anthony, in order to oblige him to reſpect the orders of the Senate and the Laws; and that Octavius did not think that he could ſecurely treat with him till he had firſt revenged that contempt he had ſhewn towards him, and made him ſenſible that he was not a child, but a man, quite ripe with regard to prudence, and very firm in the execution of what he had reſolved. The winter alone

* Si me rectis ſenſibus euntem dii immortales, ut ſpero, adjuverint, vivam libenter. Sin autem aliud me fatum manet, præcipio gaudia ſuppliciorum veſtrorum. Namque ſi victi Pompeiani tam inſolentes ſunt, victores quales futuri ſint, vos potiùs experiemini.

† Denique ſumma judicii mei ſpectat huc, ut meorum injurias ferre poſſim, ſi aut obliviſci velint ipſi feciſſe, aut ulciſci parati ſint unà nobiſcum Cæſaris mortem.

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hindered them from acting. Octavius was with his army at the Forum Cornelii, which is now called Imola: Hirtius occupied * Claterna in the ſame province: And Panſa, who remained at Rome during ſome months at the beginning of the year, raiſed troops by force. As for Anthony, he continued to block up Decimus in Modena. And in this manner was the bad ſeaſon for fighting occupied. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

As ſoon as it was poſſible to take the field, Hirtius and Octavius knowing that the ſcarcity became very preſſing in Modena, marched with a deſign to attempt the relieving it. Upon the march they took poſſeſſion of Bologna, which opened its gates to them. But when they approached near the place beſieged, they found themſelves ſtopped by a little river called †Sculteña, the banks of which Anthony had lined with troops. It was not poſſible for them to paſs it: They only gave notice to Decimus of their arrival by ſignals; but as he returned no anſwer, they made uſe of a diver, who ſwimming under water entered the town, and carried to the beſieged the news of the ſuccours, graved on a thin plate of lead, which they tied to his arm. They conveyed alſo Salt and other proviſions into Modena, by the ſame way of the river. The beſiegers having obſerved it made uſe of nets to catch them, which effectually hindered them from ſending any more. But they found no method of ſtopping a particular kind of couriers, which kept up a correſpondence between the beſieged and the army deſtined for their relief. Theſe were Pigeons, to the necks of which they faſtened letters, and after having kept them ſhut up in a dark-place without meat for ſome time, they let them fly. As ſoon as they found themſelves at liberty they directed their flight towards a place where they obſerved grain, which they had taken care to put upon the high-ground; and thus they carried and brought back ſeveral important advices. Appian. Dio. Frontin. Stratag. iii. 13 & 14. Plin. x. 37.

* Quaderna.
† Le Panaro.

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A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Appian.

There was nothing elſe remarkable happened till the arrival of Panſa; excepting only that the Prætor Ventidius, whoſe leaving Rome I have before taken notice of, having advanced to join Anthony with two legions which he had raiſed in Cæſar's colonies, was hindered by Hirtius and Octavius. He therefore retired to Picenum, where he raiſed a third legion, waiting an opportunity of making uſe of his forces for the ſervice of his friend and protector.

The fourteenth of April Panſa was to arrive at the camp of Hirtius, with four legions of new raiſed troops. At his approach both armies put themſelves in motion. Hirtius detached the Martial Legion with his Guard or Prætorian Cohort, together with that of Octavius, in order to ſecure the march of his Collegue. Anthony, to prevent their joining, marched from the camp himſelf, leaving his brother Lucius to command there in his abſence; and took two of the beſt Legions, two Prætorian Cohorts, his own and that of Silanus, which had been ſent him by Lepidus, as I before obſerved, beſides ſome cavalry and light-armed troops, and poſted himſelf near the Forum Gallorum, now called Caſtel Franco.

Cic. ad Fam. X. 30. & Phil. xii.

As ſoon as the Martial Legion, which had quitted the ſervice of Anthony to join young Cæſar, perceived the troops of the contrary party, it was not poſſible to keep them within bounds. Hatred is never ſtronger than againſt thoſe whom you have left, and by whom you know you are looked upon as a rebel. Panſa was obliged to follow the motion of this Legion, and to engage in a general action, almoſt in ſpite of himſelf. I ſhall not offer to enter upon a detail of this engagement, which was very bloody. The Prætorian Cohort of Cæſar was almoſt entirely cut to pieces. The Martial Legion ſuffered likewiſe very much; and Panſa received two wounds, the ſecond of which was ſo conſiderable, that he was obliged to leave the field of battle, and was carried to Bologna. The loſs was not much leſs on Anthony's ſide; however, he had the advantage, for which he

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was particularly obliged to the cavalry, which was extremely good. But attempting to croſs the camp where the vanquiſhed were retreated, he met with a repulſe. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

When he was returning, Hirtius, who upon the news of what had paſſed, was arrived with two Legions, met him in the very place where the former battle was fought; and falling on his troops, which were greatly fatigued, he eaſily defeated them. Thus the conquerors were either cut to pieces, or put to flight in their turn. Anthony got back again to his camp, by the favour of the night, with the remains of his ſoldiers. Hirtius took two ſtandards and ſixty-ſix colours from the enemy.

In his abſence, his camp was attacked by L. Antonius. Octavius, who was left there with a handful of men, made nevertheleſs a good defence; for having obliged the aſſailants to retire with loſs, he by this means became a ſharer in the glory of the day, which though not at all deciſive, yet, however, did honour to the party of the Senate.

Anthony afterwards reproached Octavius that he had fled on this occaſion, and did not appear again for two days after the battle, without his armour and his horſe. But the teſtimony of an enemy is liable to exception. Octavius was praiſed in a letter to Hirtius, quoted by Cicero in full Senate, as having given proofs of great courage. The account which I have given of the affair, is a faithful tranſlation of Cicero's words, in his xivth Philippic. But granting that account not to be literally juſt, yet I cannot perſuade myſelf that it can be abſolutely falſe. Suet. Aug. 10. Cic. Phil. XIV. 28.

The advantage gained over Anthony was extolled beyond all meaſure. Cicero voted to ordain feſtivals for fifty days to render thanks: A very great honour, and reſpecting the number of days, exceeded every thing which had paſſed before with regard to Pompey and Cæſar. He adviſed, beſides, that they ſhould inveſt each of the three Chiefs with the title of Imperator, as if it had been for a glorious victory, and that

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. a magnificent monument ſhould be erected at the expence of the Republic, for all thoſe who had been killed in the battle. This was a very judicious and laudable propoſal, as it preſerved to the fathers, mothers, wives, children, and brothers of the ſoldiers who were ſlain in defence of the publick Cauſe, thoſe rewards which would have been given to themſelves, had they ſurvived.

Dio. Appian. Mean while, for all this pomp of congratulation and triumph, Decimus was not delivered, and Anthony ſtill preſſed the ſiege. Hirtius and Octavius were forced to give Anthony battle again, and attack his intrenchments. They had penetrated a good way when Hirtius was killed, fighting with great bravery. Octavius being left alone, gave evident proofs of his good conduct and courage. He kept poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp for ſome time; but at laſt Anthony, with redoubled effort, obliged them to retire. He made his retreat, however, in good order; and it is reported of him, that a ſtandard-bearer having given him the ſtandard when he was dying, he took it upon his ſhoulders, and with this honourable load, wounded and covered with blood, he returned glorious to his camp, having all the advantage on his ſide. Decimus ſhared the honour with him, by a ſally which he made during the engagement. It is not at all to be doubted but Anthony ſuffered greatly by this laſt action. This is confirmed by the reſolution he took to raiſe the ſiege, and gain the Alps as ſoon as poſſible. But though he was overcome, he had ſtill ſome reſource left. He truſted much to the friendſhip of Lepidus and Plancus, and he was ſure of the three Legions which Ventidius commanded in Picenum. His next buſineſs then was to put himſelf in a condition of receiving the ſuccours of his friends, by means of which he hoped to become ſooner more powerful and more formidable to his enemies than before.

Suet. Aug. 10. Flor. iv. 4. Cic. ad Brut. I. 2. 4.

He would have found it difficult, however, to have received the advantage of theſe reinforcements, had Octavius purſued him without delay. This young

young, but artful politician, who was always ſteady in purſuing the intereſt of his ambition, purpoſely allowed his enemy time to retire. He was afraid of ſerving too well the party in which he was engaged, being perſuaded, not without reaſon, that if he ruined Anthony, the Senate would next endeavour to ruin himſelf. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

This whole intrigue is very difficult to be unravelled, for want of ſufficient memoirs that might be depended on. Two things, however, are very certain; the one, that the Senate deſired earneſtly to reeſtabliſh the government of the Republic; the other, that Octavius wanted entirely to deſtroy it, and raiſe to himſelf, on the ruins of Liberty, a power reſembling that of his great uncle. By an inevitable conſequence of this contrariety of views, they mutually diſtruſted one another, and the neceſſity alone of ſubduing Anthony their common enemy, had re-united them. After Anthony was reduced to retreat from before Modena, and was no more in a condition to give umbrage to any one of them, the diviſion, which was only ſuſpended between the two parties, was ready to break out. The Senate, believing that they had no longer need of Octavius, neglected him, and ſtrove to mortify him. And Octavius made uſe of this pretext to break his engagements with the Senate, and to execute without reſerve that deſign which he had always kept in view.

This is in general the truth of the affair, which no diſſimulation could render obſcure, becauſe it was ſufficiently evinced by facts. But that which has very much darkened all the account of theſe times is, That both parties ſtrove to conceal their meaſures; and as Octavius at laſt became the Chief, under the title of Auguſtus, and even tranſmitted his power to his ſucceſſors; the hiſtorians under the firſt Cæſars, were permitted to give inſtances of the Senate's ingratitude, but by no means to expoſe Octavius. And how could it be expected that the common hiſtorians ſhould dare to ſpeak the truth, ſince T. Livius himſelf, Tac. Ann. iv. 34. Epiſt. cxix.

A. R. 709 Ant. C. 43. ſelf, whom Auguſtus called a partizan of Pompey, mentions, as a true motive, (if the author of the Abridgment underſtood his meaning) what was only a pretence; and ſuppoſes that the unjuſt proceedings of the Senate were the cauſe which determined Octavius to uſurp the Conſulſhip.

Tac. Ann. i. 10. Tacitus, who was not only a man of an open character, but wrote in a time of liberty, under the government of one of the beſt Princes to be met with in hiſtory, has traced a faithful plan of the conduct

Suet. Aug. 32. of Octavius, which I have exactly copied. Suetonius alſo tells his mind very freely, but both of them expreſs themſelves only in general terms. Appian and Dio, who entered more into particulars, have extracted their hiſtories from ſources infected with flattery; and, conſequently, ought not to be raſhly believed. Thus it frequently happens that we find them contradicted by the ſmall authentic remains of the times we are now ſpeaking of. That is to ſay, ſome letters of Cicero and his friends, eſpecially the two Bruti.

As I do not intend to load this work with diſſertations, which belong properly to the learned, I ſhall not diſcuſs thoſe points which I imagine have deceived theſe two Greek writers. I ſhall look upon what they have wrote as partial to Octavius, compared with thoſe pieces which we have on the oppoſite ſide, and thus I ſhall endeavour to unravel the truth to my reader. But I return to my ſubject.

Decimus had no ſooner got over his fear of Anthony, than he began to be afraid of Octavius. To clear up his ſuſpicions he deſired a conference with him; and it appears, by the manner in which he ex-

XI. ad Fam. 13. preſſes himſelf in a letter to Cicero, that he believed he had good reaſon not to be diſpleaſed with it. But Octavius, who was much more artful than he, deceived him.

In the mean time Panſa died in Bologna of the wounds which he received at the battle of Caſtel Franco. Finding there was no hopes of recovery, he ſent for Octavius, and, if you believe Appian, revealed

vealed to him the plot of the Senators, and their de- A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.
ſign to make the Chiefs of Cæſar's party deſtroy each other. He added, that his view, and that of his Collegue in making war againſt Anthony, was only to humble him, in order to force him to a reconciliation with the ſons of his benefactor. He ended, by informing him that he gave him up the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth, and that he would cauſe all the new raiſed troops to be ſent to Decimus.

This laſt circumſtance is very certain; and after the death of Panſa, theſe troops were diſtributed according to the plan above-mentioned. As to the intentions of Panſa and Hirtius, they might poſſibly be ſuch as Appian ſuppoſes them; but if it was ſo, it was ſurprizing that Cicero had no ſuſpicion of it; and in the letters which he wrote, both during their Conſulſhip, and after their death, he frequently praiſes them, never in the leaſt ſuſpects their fidelity, and finds no fault with them on any other account, than want of activity and prudence on certain occaſions. Beſides, their whole conduct, after the death of Cæſar, ſhewed them to be men moſt certainly attached to his memory, but enemies to the violences and tyranny of Anthony and his party. If they had any ſecret deſigns, they can only be gueſſed at.

In ſhort, in a time of factions and troubles, all ſorts of rumours find credit with thoſe whoſe prejudices are flattered. Thus, while Appian regards Hirtius and Panſa as devoted to Octavius, this laſt has been accuſed by others as the author of their death, as having occaſioned Hirtius to be killed in the battle by his own ſoldiers, and as having engaged Panſa's Phyſician to poiſon his wounds. Theſe accuſations have never been proved, and we have even a letter of Brutus's, in which he juſtifies Panſa's Phyſician. We only ſee by ſuch extraordinary reports, what ſome people believed a young ambitious man, ſuch as Octavius, to be capable of.

Tac. Ann. i. 10. Suet. Aug. 11.

Cic. ad Brut. i. 6.

The fatal death of the two Conſuls was a ſevere blow to the Republic, which found itſelf all at once de-

A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43. deprived of its Chiefs. Their bodies were carried to Rome and magnificently interred, and their deaths greatly lamented by the public. All orders of the State ſeemed to take a ſhare in the concern; and it has been reported that the Cryers, who officiated at the funeral ceremony, refuſed their wages on this melancholy occaſion. The grief, in the mean time, was greater and more ſincere amongſt the people, than amongſt thoſe at the head of affairs. Hirtius and Panſa had obſerved a mean between the two parties, which could neither be entirely ſatisfactory to the Senate or Octavius. Octavius had found them too much attached to the Senate, and the Senate too lukewarm in the cauſe of liberty. Cicero hints at this laſt in ſpeaking of their death; "We † have loſt two good Conſuls," ſays he, "but they were only good."

Dio. The next thing that engaged the attention of thoſe who were zealous for the Republic, was how to make the beſt uſe of Anthony's diſgrace, which, at firſt, they looked upon as quite compleat. As ſoon as they heard the news that the ſiege of Modena was raiſed, they again put on the robe of peace in the city, as if the war had been entirely at an end, and ordained feſtivals for ſixty days. Anthony, and all thoſe who had joined him were declared enemies to the Public, and it was reſolved that they ſhould purſue them briſkly till they had compleated their ruin.

Cic. ad Fam. X. 21. & ad Brut. i. 5.

Appian. In the mean time, they appointed a commiſſion to inſpect into the whole conduct of Anthony during his Conſulſhip, and to repair all the injuſtice for which he was blamed, both towards the Republic and particular perſons. The end which they propoſed by annulling his orders was, that this counter-blow muſt weaken Cæſar's Decrees, by which he thought himſelf authorized in all he had done.

Corn. Nepos in Vit. Att. At ſuch a critical conjuncture, while nobody durſt call himſelf a friend to Anthony, and thoſe who had

† Conſules duos, bonos quidem, ſed duntaxat bonos, amiſimus. Cic. ad Brut. i. 3.

been

been the moſt obliged to him abandoned him and joined his enemies; Atticus, in ſpite of his intimate connections with Cicero and Brutus, ſhewed himſelf a faithful friend to him in diſgrace. He protected Fulvia his wife, who was attacked on all ſides by creditors, and perſecuted with a thouſand injuries in order to rob her of all ſhe had. He ſecured his children, who were in danger of their lives. And it cannot be ſaid, as Corn. Nepos very well obſerves, That in all this he acted with the leaſt ſelfiſh view. For at that time there was no manner of appearance that Anthony could ever recover himſelf, every body believing that he was irrecoverably ruined. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

The rigid Republicans, who followed to a tittle the maxims and ſuggeſtions of Brutus, were no leſs active to depreſs young Cæſar, than to ruin Anthony. As they had the upper hand at that time in the Senate, all the honours were granted to Decimus. He was charged with the purſuit of Anthony, and the battle of Modena, by which he was delivered, happening accidentally to fall on his birth-day, it was ordered that that day ſhould be marked with his name in the public Faſti: In fine, under pretence of ſome advantages gained by him, ſeveral months before, over the nations of the Alps, they decreed him a triumph. On the contrary, Cicero, who kept more within bounds, having propoſed to grant Octavius the honour of an Ovation, had almoſt the whole Senate againſt him. And what ſhewed very plainly their deſign of weakening young Cæſar, was their attempt to take away from him the Martial and fourth Legions, and put them under the command of Decimus. But the Senators ſucceeded no farther in this, than only to diſcover their ill will towards him. The Legions were too well pleaſed with the general they had made choice of, to be prevailed upon to leave him. But the Senate did not content themſelves with that; they even carried the affair ſo far as to affront Octavius. Cic. ad Fam. XI. & ad Brut. Appian. Dio. Cic. ad Fam. XI. 4.

A. R. 708. Ant. C. 44. Their next buſineſs was, to beſtow on the victorious Legions thoſe rewards they had promiſed at the beginning of the war. This was looked upon as an affair of ſo great conſequence, that in order to raiſe money, they loaded with a tax the city of Rome itſelf, which had been exempted from it ever ſince the triumph of Paulus Emilius, conqueror of Perſia, and which ſubmitted with great reluctance to a burden it had not felt for the ſpace of 120 years before. They named ſix Commiſſioners to diſtribute theſe rewards; and one would think that it was very natural to have put the officers of thoſe troops in the number. But ſo far from this, it was ſaid that thoſe who were at the head of the army could not be named for this office. They choſe rather to exclude Decimus than to be under a neceſſity of admitting Octavius.

Cic. ad Fam. XII. 30. & ad Brut. i. 18. Plut. Æmil. Cic. de Off. ii. 76.

This reſolution was alſo taken contrary to the advice of Cicero, who was one of the commiſſioners. He inſiſted in favour of the two generals, but was not hearkened to. His prudence was looked on as a ſelfiſh piece of policy, and brought upon him afterwards very ſmart reproaches from Brutus. On the other hand he was, at the ſame time, expoſed to the ill-will of the veterans, who looked upon him as favouring the murderers of Cæſar.

The veterans were in the right; and he happened to drop an expreſſion at this time, which perhaps coſt him his life. In * ſpeaking of Octavius he ſaid, that he could not help praiſing and honouring the young man: he adds a third phraſe which in the Latin bears an equivocal ſenſe, and may equally ſignify "to elevate, or rid himſelf of him." This expreſſion came to the ears of Octavius, who ſaid he would take care not to be elevated in the manner Cicero intended he ſhould.

In ſhort, he actually prepared to lay aſide the maſk, and break off with the Senate. It may indeed be

* Ipſum Cæſarem nihil ſanè de te queſtum, niſi dictum quod diceret te dixiſſe, laudandum adoleſcentem, ornandum, tollendum; ſe non commiſſurum ut tolli poſſit. D. Brut. ad Cic. xi. ad Fam. 20.

ſaid

ſaid that he was in a manner forced to it, as it manifeſtly appeared that they propoſed to cruſh Cæſar's party, and to make the enemies of his name and memory triumph. The general command at ſea given to Sextus Pompeius; the formidable power which Brutus and Caſſius authorized by the decrees of the Senate had acquired; the honours accumulated upon Decimus; the indifference which they ſhewed for Octavius, after Anthony was no longer to be feared; all this prognoſticated to Cæſar's heir, not only obſtacles, with regard to his ambitious projects, but even dangers fatal to his perſon. He had then good reaſon to diſtruſt the Senators, and the Senators had reaſon to diſtruſt him. Their reciprocal intereſts were directly contrary; and as it is intereſt which governs men, eſpecially thoſe who have the management of great affairs, the enmity between them became irreconcileable. It was neceſſary that either the Senate ſhould be cruſhed to pieces, or elſe that the ambitious Octavius ſhould periſh. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

This he had foreſeen from the very beginning. For by his plan the authority of the Senate muſt be deſtroyed. And he owned this in ſome meaſure himſelf, ſeeing he made a glory of it, through his whole life, that he had always had in view the revenging the death of his adoptive father, which could not be executed while the Senate preſerved any authority. He diſſembled at firſt, that he might not have both the Senate and Anthony to ſtruggle with at the ſame time. He even puſhed his diſſimulation ſo far as to agree to releaſe one of Cæſar's murderers, and acted his part ſo well in this war, that Cicero teſtifies in his behalf, that there was no fault to be found with the manner in which he ſerved his party. Suet. Aug. 10. Cic. ad Brut. I. 10.

After Anthony's defeat he ſuſpended his activity at once; he took no advantage of the victory, and this was the firſt ſymptom he gave of his ſecret intentions. But this was ſtill equivocal, ſince the Senate charged Decimus, and not Octavius to purſue Anthony. As for the reſt he kept himſelf quiet, and had patience for

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. for ſome time; being willing without doubt to obtain ſome ſpecious pretence againſt the Senate, which ſhewed now no more reſpect for him, and to ſeem to have been abandoned and offended by the Senators, before he ſhould abandon them, and declare himſelf their enemy.

Vell. II. 62. Dio. He was not long in finding the pretence which he wanted, and the Senators took care to furniſh him with it. Being ſtill fond of the project of drawing from him the troops which acknowledged him for their chief, they ordered the Deputies which they ſent to the army to diſtribute the rewards, to ſpeak to the ſoldiers when Octavius was not preſent. After the Deputies arrived, and had ſignified their orders to the young general, he declared that he would not in the leaſt hinder them from doing what was enjoined them; but he ſignified to them, at the ſame time, that they would find it a needleſs trouble, and that he was very ſure that the ſoldiers would neither hearken to them nor give them any anſwer unleſs he was preſent. In this he advanced nothing but the truth, and doubtleſs he had taken his meaſures before. The Deputies being returned, without having performed any thing, Octavius embraced this opportunity of laying open to his troops the whole management of the Senate, and a deſign which was formed of ſowing a diſſenſion between the ſoldiers and their general. His diſcourſe was received with great applauſe, and the attempt which had been made to deprive him of his army, confirmed the affections of his troops towards him.

Appian. In the mean time he made preparations to approach towards Anthony, but did not enter directly into a negotiation with him. He began to careſs very much the priſoners, both officers and ſoldiers, which he had in his power, receiving into his army all ſuch as were willing to engage with him, and allowing to the reſt the liberty of returning to their general. Ventidius had marched out of Picenum, in order to join Anthony; and nothing could have been more eaſy than for

for Octavius to have cut them to pieces in their march. But inſtead of that, when he knew that they were near his camp, he ſent to invite them to join his party; or, if Ventidius rather choſe it, he would allow him to continue his march unmoleſted towards Anthony, and he charged him to reproach him with his ignorance of their mutual intereſt. Ventidius made a proper uſe of this permiſſion, and was not wanting to acquit himſelf faithfully of his meſſage. This conduct of Octavius ſufficiently declared his intentions. For an officer, one of the priſoners, called Decius, taking leave of him to return to Anthony, and demanding of him an explanation of his ſentiments: "I have done enough, anſwered Octavius, "for intelligent men. To ſuch as are weak and blind, "nothing is ſufficient." A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

He further explained himſelf in letters to Lepidus and Pollio, with whom he had no difference, and who, till that time, appeared to remain neuter. He repreſented to them, "That all the chiefs of Cæſar's party ought to unite together, in order to check the power of his father's murderers, and alſo for their own ſafety. That without this it was greatly to be feared, that they ſhould all be ruined, one after another, as had juſt happened to Anthony, by an effect of his too great boldneſs, preſumption, and obſtinacy. That it was right to keep in with the Senate, and to acknowledge its authority, without neglecting themſelves in the mean time, and taking proper precautions againſt the dangers which threatened them." Octavius concluded with deſiring them to communicate theſe reflections to Anthony, and to engage him to give attention to them.

Lepidus was very ſtrongly inclined to conform his conduct to the advice of Octavius. But as to Pollio, if we may judge of his diſpoſitions by the three letters which we have of his upon the motion above-mentioned, and even by the fierceneſs of his character, a republican in his heart, and full of eſteem for Cicero; though he preſerved ſome reſpect for the memory of Cæſar,

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Cæſar, he ſhewed himſelf fully determined to aſſiſt the Senate againſt Anthony. But his being removed to the furthermoſt corner of Spain, did not allow him to have any ſhare in the deciſion of that affair, or to have it in his power to wait for it.

Octavius, beſides his general views which regarded the whole party, had at that time a particular one with regard to himſelf; this was to arrive at the Conſulſhip, void by the death of Hirtius and Panſa. This ſupreme dignity was very capable of tempting an ambitious young man. Beſides, he judged it a kind of protection abſolutely neceſſary for him in his preſent ſituation. He ſaw himſelf as it were ſtanding alone, an enemy of Anthony, not well aſſured of the diſpoſitions of the other chiefs of Cæſar's party, and obnoxious to the Senate. The Conſulſhip, if he could obtain it, would certainly fortify him, and add to his arms the ſupport of the Laws, and of the public Authority. But the difficulty was, how to ſucceed. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to Cicero, who allowed himſelf to be perſuaded to aſſiſt him, in a demand ſo contrary to the rules and intereſt of the republican party.

Plut. Cic. Appian. Dio.

This is a part of Cicero's life which gives the greateſt handle for cenſure. It muſt be owned, that he had a violent inclination towards Octavius, who had inſinuated himſelf into his good graces by the moſt flattering careſſes, and who feigned to put his confidence entirely in him, and to make him his only counſellor. I am of opinion, however, that whatever Cicero did before that in favour of Cæſar's heir might be juſtified, and that the reaſons he makes uſe of to defend himſelf againſt the reproaches of Brutus on this ſubject, have a great deal of weight.

Cic. ad Brut. i. 15.

Neceſſity had forced him to throw himſelf into the arms of Octavius, in the urgent danger which threatened the city and the Republick when Anthony marched his Legions from Brundiſium to Rome. Young Cæſar was then plainly the deliverer of the Senate; and upon this occaſion the whole Senators agreed with Cicero,

Cicero, to load him with honours of all kinds. "But A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.
* I do not know how it happens, ſays Cicero to Brutus, that we are more ready to grant liberally in the moment of danger, than to make any acknowledgment when it is over." After raiſing the ſiege of Modena, the Senate changed its conduct entirely with regard to Octavius. But Cicero did not vary from the ſyſtem he had embraced. He propoſed that they ſhould decree to the conqueror the little Triumph, and alledged that that advice was no leſs prudent, than conformable to the laws of gratitude. He did not explain himſelf any further. But independent of other reaſons which he might poſſibly have had, it is certain that if the Senate had been complaiſant enough to Octavius, to grant him an honour of no great conſequence, he would have thought himſelf more obliged to have declined making an irregular and dangerous demand of the Conſulſhip.

It was upon occaſion of this demand that Cicero allowed himſelf to be made a tool of; and, which made it the more inexcuſable, through ambition and vanity. The young and artful Octavius propoſed to him that they ſhould demand the Conſulſhip together, giving him to underſtand, that he himſelf would be contented with the ſimple title and honour, leaving the power entirely to Cicero. He added, that if he deſired that high office, it was only to have an opportunity of laying down his arms honourably, as he had demanded a triumph from the ſame motive. It is difficult to comprehend how Cicero ſhould be deceived by ſuch a palpable piece of artifice, if it was not that the predominant paſſion frequently blinds men of the moſt penetrating genius. Plutarch agrees with Appian in this affair; and it is certain that it was currently reported at that time, that Cicero was to be made Conſul, for Brutus in a letter compliments him upon it. This old and wiſe ſtateſman, impoſed on by Brut. ad Cic. I. 4.

* Sed nescio quomodo facilius in timore benigni, quàm in victoria grati reperimur.

a young

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. a young man not yet twenty, made the whole Senate witneſſes of the trick which was put upon him. He repreſented, "That the Republick could ſcarce put confidence in any of the generals which commanded the armies in the neighbourhood of Italy, and who acted like independents, making treaties among themſelves for their proper intereſts, without any regard to the ſervice of the State. Conſequently it behoved the Senate to attach itſelf to Octavius, whom hitherto it had regarded but very little; and that it was neceſſary to regain him by means of ſome honours, leſt being irritated and in arms it might be more difficult to reſtrain him within proper bounds, than if he was in the city and veſted with the Conſulſhip. That after all they could appoint a kind of manager and tutor for him, under the name of collegue, and make choice of one of the old Senators to direct his counſels." This diſcourſe did not impoſe upon any. The friends of Brutus preſently diſcovered in it Cicero's weakneſs, and made a jeſt of it. They had no mind to conſent to the preferment of Cæſar's ſon, and to put it in his power to revenge the death of his father.

This artifice of Octavius had not its intended effect; and as he was not powerful enough to ſubdue the Senate himſelf, it is very probable that he would not have ſucceeded in uſurping the Conſulſhip, if the junction of Lepidus and Anthony had not cauſed new alarms to the Republick, and quite diſcouraged it.

Cic. ad Fam. x. 33. Plancus ad Cic. L. x. ad Fam. The Senate, at the beginning of the troubles, had ordered Lepidus and Plancus to come from Gaul with their armies to the aſſiſtance of the Republick. If theſe two generals had faithfully and punctually obeyed this order, Anthony muſt have been infallibly ruined. But, in the firſt place, they were quarrelling with each other, and conſequently little diſpoſed to act in conjunction; and it was with ſome difficulty that Juventius Laterenſis, Lepidus's lieutenant, a very zealous citizen for the cauſe of liberty, prevailed at laſt in part to remove this obſtacle, by negotiating between

between them a ſeeming reconciliation. In the ſecond place, their politicks made them both wait the ſucceſs, before they would determine; with this difference, that Lepidus favoured Anthony's party, while Plancus, on the other hand, inclined more towards the Senate. From all this there reſulted an indolent conduct, and affected delays, which prolonged the affair ſo much, that the quarrel was terminated in Italy by the raiſing the ſiege of Modena, and by the flight of Anthony, without their having in the leaſt contributed to it, during the time that they were ſtill in Gaul. This event put an end to Plancus's equivocations, and obliged him to engage heartily againſt the unfortunate Anthony. In the letters which he wrote after that time to Cicero, he ſpeaks in the ſame ſtyle concerning the Republick as Cicero himſelf; he does not ſpare to give Anthony and his party the moſt odious epithets; and he paſſed the Iſer to join Lepidus, who was encamped at the Pons Argentorum, upon a river of the ſame name, on this ſide the town called Forum Voconii. But when he came near it, he underſtood that Lepidus had received Anthony into his camp. In this manner was that affair conducted. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Octavius, as I have ſaid, did not purſue Anthony, who had gained two days march upon Decimus; for he marching in a regular manner, could not make ſuch quick progreſs as flying troops, whoſe only care it is to eſcape the enemy. It is incredible what Anthony ſuffered in this flight. There was a prodigious famine in his army, eſpecially at the paſſage of the Alps; even ſo great as to make them endeavour to convert into nouriſhment the barks of trees, and to eat animals for which nature has the greateſt abhorrence. The ſoldiers nevertheleſs ſuffered this great calamity with courage, becauſe their general himſelf ſet them an example; and they ſaw that man, who was accuſtomed to a luxurious diet, and the moſt delicious wines, drink very chearfully of muddy ſtinking water, and eat wild fruits and roots. For Anthony

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. thony * became ſuperior to himſelf in adverſity; and when he was mortified with diſgrace, he reſembled in all reſpects a man of virtue, which is no mean encomium. In ſhort, as Plutarch obſerves, it is common for thoſe who are ill-uſed by fortune, to acknowledge their faults, and pay reſpect to virtue. But all have not reſolution to practiſe what they approve, and to ſhun what they condemn. On the contrary, your weak and effeminate characters, when they are cruſhed by adverſity, only return more eaſily to their former habits afterwards. Upon other occaſions, Anthony returned to his natural inclinations; and when in his march he met with plenty, he gave himſelf up to his uſual intemperance. This gave occaſion to a witty ſaying of one of his friends, who being aſked what Anthony was doing: "He does, anſwered his friend, like the dogs along the Nile, he flies and drinks." For, according to an antient tradition, the dogs, on the banks of that river, for fear of the crocodiles drink as they run. But whenever the want of proviſions came, Anthony ſuffered it with an heroick reſolution. This made his troops, which otherwiſe, very probably, would have abandoned him, adhere firmly to him, and put him in a condition to reap the advantage of the favour which Lepidus privately intended.

Macrob. Sat. ii. 2.

That vain and deceitful man puſhed his diſſimulations, or perhaps his want of reſolution, as far as poſſible. He wrote to Rome, promiſing an inviolable attachment to the Senate, and ſent letters and couriers to Plancus to haſten his arrival, while he in the mean time gave orders to Culeo, one of his lieutenants, to guard the paſſes of the Alps; but inſtead of defending them, he opened them all. Thus Anthony marched down without any moleſtation, and encamp-

Cic. ad Fam. x. 34.

* Φύσει παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας ἑαυτῷ βέλτιος· ἑαυτῷ, καὶ δυσχερὴς ἐμαυτῷ ἦν ἀγαθός· κοινὲ μὲν γὰρ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς δι' ἀπορίαν τινὰ συμβαλλομένοις· ἃ μὲν ἀπάδειν ἃ ζηλοῦσι μεμιμεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν ἃ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐμμένειν τοῖς μεθόδοις· ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδιδόναι ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας, καὶ θρασύνεσθαι τὸν λογισμόν. PLUT.

ed near Frejus, with a considerable army, Ventidius having joined him with three legions. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Anthony finding himself near Lepidus, did not fortify his camp with any lines or intrenchments, chusing to have it known that he believed himself among his friends. And he was not deceived; for the whole army of Lepidus, composed chiefly of old troops, that had served under Cæsar, was inclined towards Anthony; and though Lepidus continued to act the farce, and refused to see a General declared a publick enemy by the Senate; yet Anthony had frequent interviews with the soldiers, advancing as far as the borders of their lines, with an air of affliction, in a mourning habit, and acting the supplicant, conjuring them to undertake his defence against his enemies. The end of all this contrivance was, that one morning the troops of Lepidus, having destroyed the fortifications on one side of the camp, and thrown the earth of the parapet into the ditch, received Anthony, conducting him to the General's tent, who was then in bed. They all pretended that they desired to engage in the cause of their friends who served under Anthony, and were involved in the same condemnation with them. Lepidus, seeing things carried so far, thought he had a sufficient excuse for taking a step which he seemed absolutely forced to, and consented to assist Anthony with all his forces. To this purpose he wrote to the Senate, and observed in his letter what we have just mentioned, that a sedition of his soldiers had obliged him to undertake the defence of so great a number of unfortunate Citizens. The Senate did not suffer itself to be deceived by this frivolous excuse; on the contrary, declared him an enemy to the Publick, and pulled down the statue they had decreed to him, which had been erected but a few months before. Cicero, Plancus, and Decimus Brutus, had judged the same of the conduct of Lepidus, and thought that his joining with Anthony was owing to treachery, and not at all to weakness and timidity. In effect, Anthony did not treat him like a Ge-

Plut. Ant. Appian.

Cic. ad Fam. x. 35.

Cic. ad Brut. i. 15.

Cic. ad Fam. x. & xi. & ad Brut.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. a General deprived of his power, to whom he granted the title and honours of command. We ſhall ſee them act afterwards like friends and equals, ſharing together the fruit of the crimes they are going to commit. This Junction was made the 29th of May.

Cic. ad Fam. x. 23.

Vell. ii. 63. Juventius Laterenſis, who alone in this whole affair acted with ſincerity, aſhamed of having been made the dupe of Lepidus, and deſpairing of the Republick, killed himſelf as ſoon as Anthony entered the camp. Plancus ſpeedily repaſſed the Iſer, and received Decimus, who arrived ſoon after in Gaul with his army. Thus ſupported, he continued firm for about two months, with the party he had embraced; and, if we believe Cicero's letters, his zeal went ſo far as to preſs Octavius to come and finiſh the ruin of the enemies of the Republick, by joining with himſelf and Decimus. He was quite ready to act, provided he had nothing to riſk. But Octavius, at that time, thought of nothing leſs than of making war againſt Anthony. All his views tended to take advantage of the conſternation, or the renewal of the troubles and dangers of the Senate, to force them to conſent to his being named Conſul, in order to releaſe him from his engagement.

Appian. Dio. He could not have wiſhed for a more favourable opportunity. The conſternation of the Senate was proportioned to the greatneſs of the danger, and there was no reſource at hand. They wrote to Brutus and Caſſius to preſs them to come to the aſſiſtance of their country; but they were at too great a diſtance. Sextus Pompeius had but a handful of men, and thoſe troops which they might expect from Africa and Sardinia, were not ſufficient to ſupport their ſpirits. There was then a neceſſity for having recourſe to Octavius, whom they had but juſt before deſpiſed and affronted. The Senate, who ſince the raiſing of the ſiege of Modena had never employed him, and even attempted to take his legions from him, ordered him to make war in conjunction with Decimus againſt Anthony and Lepidus.

Octavius

Octavius, far from being diſpoſed to declare himſelf an enemy to theſe two Generals, actually negotiated with them. Wherefore he not only refuſed as a favour the commiſſion which was given him, but he drew from it a pretence to irritate the ſoldiers againſt the Senate. He made them underſtand that the Senate, always devoted to the memory and cauſe of Pompey, had no other deſign than to make thoſe who were attached to Cæſar deſtroy each other; and that the fruit of ſo many wars, in which they were ſucceſſively engaged, would be the triumph of Pompey's party, which had ſo often been vanquiſhed. That beſides, it was very ſtrange, that they ſhould ſend them out upon a new expedition, without paying them the rewards promiſed for the firſt, which they had ſo happily terminated. He added, in order to affect them by the moſt powerful motive, that the veteran ſoldiers could no longer depend on the peaceable and certain poſſeſſion of thoſe eſtates which Cæſar had granted them. That this poſſeſſion was founded on Cæſar's acts, againſt the validity of which the Senate had juſt manifeſted its diſpleaſure, by ordering an enquiry to be made into all that Anthony had done during his conſulſhip, which was authorized by the ſame acts. In fine, he mixed ſome reflections on the danger he was in himſelf, which he proteſted gave him leſs concern, than their proper intereſt. The only remedy, in his opinion, for ſo many diſappointments was, to make him be declared Conſul; and he promiſed, that if he arrived at that office, he would take the moſt effectual meaſures in order that the ſoldiers might enjoy the juſt recompences of their ſervices, and to revenge the death of his father. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

This ſpeech was received with very great applauſe, and in conſequence of it the ſoldiers engaged themſelves, by oath to one another, not to fight againſt any of thoſe who had ſerved under Cæſar. This was plainly refuſing to make war againſt Lepidus and Anthony, whoſe armies were chiefly compoſed of thoſe ſoldiers. They further voted a deputation of four

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. hundred of them to the Senate, to demand the payment of the five thouſand denarii which had been promiſed them, and the promotion of their General to the Conſulſhip.

It was doubtleſs about this time that Cicero, who ſaw the tendency of all theſe motions, and who thought himſelf always ſure of the friendſhip of Octavius, wrote to him in favour of Brutus and Caſſius, for whom, properly ſpeaking, he demanded a pardon, which occaſioned a very ſharp reprimand from Brutus to his too humble interceſſor; but I defer mentioning it here, that I may not interrupt the thread of my narration.

The Senate conſented to give ſatisfaction to the army with regard to the money: but they would not hear them ſpeak of the Conſulſhip for Octavius, inſiſting particularly on his youth. The ſoldiers, however, who had been well inſtructed before, quoted examples to ſupport their demand, viz. that of Valerius Corvus, the firſt Scipio, and alſo that of Pompey, which was ſtill recent. They further alledged the privilege which the Senate had granted Octavius, of putting up for offices ten years before the age preſcribed by the laws; repreſenting that he wanted only a ſtep to arrive at the point which he then pretended to. Thus one infraction of rules or ſtatutes becomes a handle for demanding a ſecond. The Senate, however, which had ſeveral other reaſons for refuſing Octavius the Conſulſhip, beſides that of his youth, kept firm to their refuſal. Then Cornelius the Centurion, chief of the Deputation, went out from amongſt the Deputies, and laying his hand on his ſword, he turned towards the Senators, and ſaid to them: * "If "you will not give the Conſulſhip to my General, I "will give it him myſelf." Upon which Cicero anſwered pleaſantly, "If you demand the Conſulſhip

Suet. Aug. 36.

* I have quoted from Plutarch a ſimilar paſſage on the ſubject of Cæſar's ſecond Conſulſhip. Perhaps the hiſtorians have confounded the two Cæſars: and perhaps the ſame thing may have happened twice.

"in

" in this manner for Octavius, you will certainly ob- A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43.
" tain it."

This was the intention of the young General, who ſeeing the ſoldiers irritated at the Senate's refuſal, took care to nouriſh and foment their paſſion, and make them preſs him to uſurp by force what the Senate had before refuſed. Thus yielding to ſo grateful a violence, he paſſed the Rubicon, a name fatal in the civil wars of the Cæſars, and with eight legions he marched againſt Rome. At this news the Senate was quite diſconcerted. I have obſerved elſewhere, that firmneſs in a ſociety is not to be expected when the danger is very preſſing, of which the puſillanimous conduct of the Senate on this occaſion is an evident proof. The firſt motion that was made, was to grant every thing both to the ſoldiers and the General. They gave orders to diſtribute the five thouſand denarii a-piece, promiſed long ago to the troops, and Octavius had the whole charge of this commiſſion. To him they likewiſe promiſed the Conſulſhip. But ſcarce were the deputies gone to carry him this decree, when the Senators began to reproach themſelves with their timidity; and two legions being arrived from Africa at that time, as if by appointment, they took courage, imagining that with theſe two legions, and a third which Panſa had left to guard the city, they ſhould be able to defend themſelves againſt the approaching army. They ſtationed troops upon the Mons Janicularius, where the publick money was depoſited; and fortified the bridge which forms a communication between the Janiculum and the City. It had been greatly to be wiſhed that they could have ſecured the mother and the ſiſter of Octavius: becauſe that with ſuch hoſtages they could have obtained every thing from that young General. But their friends concealed them ſo faithfully, that it was not poſſible to diſcover their place of refuge.

But all this haughtineſs and boldneſs of the Senators came to nothing at the arrival of Octavius. He had taken the wiſe precaution, to ſend proper perſons

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. before to declare that they had nothing to fear from him, for he would commit no hoſtility in the city. By means of this promiſe the people remained quiet; and even the Senate's three legions, who were but coldly attached to the cauſe, and who probably meditated at that time the change of party which they ſoon after executed, did not ſo much as draw a ſword; ſo that Octavius being encamped at the foot of the Quirinal, was heartily congratulated. Every body flocked to him, not only the lower people, but even a great many of the firſt rank in the Senate. Next morning he entered Rome with a ſufficient guard, and was received amidſt the acclamations of the people. His firſt care was to go to the temple of Veſta, where he knew his mother and ſiſter were. Then the three legions ranked themſelves under his command, and the Senate, deſtitute of all reſource, ſubmitted to him; Cornatus the Prætor only killing himſelf in deſpair. The reſt went and made their ſubmiſſions to him whom fortune had rendered their maſter. Even Cicero himſelf ſubmitted to this hard and mortifying taſk, which drew on him a ſharp rebuke from Octavius, as being the laſt of his friends who came to congratulate him.

It was with extreme reluctance that the Senate ſubmitted to this young and aſpiring man. But what cannot be excuſed in ſo wiſe a ſociety is, that upon a falſe report, without the leaſt foundation, they ſuddenly changed their conduct, and fooliſhly attempted to ſhake off a yoke, which by this means was only rendered the heavier. Some perſon, it ſeems, told the chiefs of the Senate, that the two legions which I have frequently mentioned, the Martial and the fourth, and were excellent troops, had left Octavius, and declared themſelves for the cauſe of liberty. This news ſpread itſelf in an inſtant; the Senators aſſembled in the night; and Cicero being one of the firſt who came to the gate of the Senate-houſe, encouraged all who came in, zealouſly to defend the Republick. They diſpatched immediately Aquilius Craſſus to Picenum,

Picenum, in order to raiſe troops. After all this, they examined the ſource of the report on which their hopes were founded; and as they could not diſcover any certain author, they became more terrified than ever, and preſently diſperſed themſelves. Cicero fled out of the city in his litter, and Octavius had reaſon to ridicule an attempt ſo ill-concerted. As to him, he obſerved always the ſame apparent mildneſs in his proceedings; and Aquilius Craſſus, who was taken priſoner diſguiſed like a ſlave, being brought before him, he immediately pardoned him, knowing very well that he ſhould have opportunity enough afterwards to revenge himſelf. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Thus having become abſolute maſter of Rome, he took poſſeſſion of all the publick money, which was depoſited in the Janiculum and elſewhere, and diſtributed to each of the ſoldiers two thouſand five hundred denarii, promiſing them very ſoon a like ſum which remained due to them. Next he puſhed his election to the Conſulſhip: and when he had taken all his meaſures like a ſcrupulous candidate, and one who was far from wanting to curb by his preſence the liberty of the ſuffrages, he went out of the city.

This election was extremely irregular, ſuch as there never had been any inſtance of before, nor was it ever imitated afterwards. It is true, that the two Conſuls being dead, it was not eaſy to proceed according to the laws, and antient cuſtoms, to the nomination of their ſucceſſors. The inter-reigning Conſuls could not be nominated till the Curule magiſtrate's office was expired; and conſequently to elect Conſuls, by the way of inter-regnum, it was neceſſary to wait till the firſt of January. Sylla had got himſelf eſtabliſhed Dictator, in a caſe ſimilar to the preſent: and Cæſar had uſurped the ſame title without the help of the Conſuls. But this reſource, tho' unlawful, was yet wanting here, becauſe the name of Dictator had been aboliſhed for ever by a law of Anthony. He was adviſed to create two Pro-conſuls by a decree of the Prætor of the city, ſupported no doubt

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. by the authority of the Senate, whoſe office ſhould be confined to preſide in the aſſemblies where the Conſuls were to be elected. Thus Octavius was named Conſul, together with Q. Pedius, one of his coheirs, which they gave him rather as a ſervant than a collegue. He took poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip the tenth day of Auguſt, when he was not yet full twenty years old, according to the common way of reckoning, for he was born the twenty-ſecond of September. But as in order to reform the kalendar, Cæſar had made one year to conſiſt of fifteen months inſtead of twelve, the months which were added ought to be reckoned into the age of Octavius. And thus he was entered, according to this computation, into his twenty-firſt year when he was made Conſul.

After the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion was over, the firſt uſe that he made of his conſular power, was to ſecure to himſelf his eſtate. He put the laſt ſeal to the affair of his adoption, by having it ratified in the aſſembly of the Curiæ, which the oppoſition and artifice of Anthony had hindered him from obtaining the year before. By this formality he entered into full poſſeſſion of all the rights of Cæſar's ſon.

He next ſupported the obligations of this title, in avenging by the publick authority, which he had now in his own hands, the death of his father. This I ſhall relate in the following book, and in the mean time lay before the reader the reflections and complaints of Brutus againſt Cicero: one of the moſt precious fragments which antiquity has tranſmitted to us, and where we ſee with admiration that great ſuperiority which virtue gives a perſon over the beſt talents, dignities, and the advantage of age.

Cicero, as I have ſaid, had wrote to young Cæſar in favour of Brutus and Caſſius, in the following terms: "There is one thing, ſaid he, demanded and expected of you, which is, that you conſent to preſerve to the Republic, perſons who are much eſteemed by all good men, and indeed by all the Romans." Brutus, to whom this part of Cicero's letter

letter had been ſent by Atticus, conſequently wrote to him, who imagined he had done him a friendly office. At firſt he thanks him very politely for his good intentions, but enraged at his going ſo far, he repeats to Cicero his own words, and then he adds, "It is your opinion then *, that if Octavius does not conſent to our preſervation, we muſt certainly periſh. I would have you know that it is better for us to periſh, than to be protected by him. I can never believe that the Gods have taken ſuch an averſion to the Romans, as that it ſhould become neceſſary to beſeech Octavius for the ſafety of the moſt worthleſs Citizen, ſo far is it from being neceſſary for the deliverance of the univerſe. It gives me pleaſure to make uſe of haughty expreſſions here, and certainly it is proper to uſe them to thoſe who do not know what is to be feared for ſome people, and demanded from others." A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Brutus proves to Cicero, and makes him ſenſible of it, how unworthy it was to acknowledge Octavius for a maſter, and to addreſs a ſupplication of that nature to him. He obſerves, that if he, and thoſe of his opinion were deſirous to be obliged to any one for protection, Anthony would have given them the moſt advantageous terms. "And † this child, ſays he, whom the name of Cæſar, which he bears, ſeems to animate againſt thoſe who have killed the other Cæſar, how much do you think it would have coſt him

* Unum ais eſſe, quod ab eo poſtuletur & exſpectetur: ut eos cives de quibus viri boni populuſque Romanus bene exiſtimet, ſalvos velit. Quid ſi nolit, non erimus? Atqui non eſſe, quàm eſſe per illum, præſtat. Ego, medius fidius, non exiſtimo tam omnes deos averſos eſſe à ſalute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus ſit pro ſalute cujuſquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus Orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui; & certè decet, adversùs ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum ſit.

† Hic ipſe puer, quem Cæſaris nomen imitare videtur in Cæſaris interfectores, quanti æſtimet (ſi ſit commercio locus) poſſe nobis auctoribus tantum, quantum profectò poterit, quoniam vivere, & pecunias habere & dici conſulares volumus.... Sed mihi priùs omnia dii deæque eripuerint, quàm illud judicium, quo non modò hæredi ejus quem occidi non conceſſerim quod in illo non tuli, ſed ne patri quidem meo, ſi reviviſcat, ut patiente me plus legibus ac Senatu poſſit.

to

A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43. to have purchaſed our conſent to that power which he aſpires to, provided we were in the humour to liſten to ſuch a propoſal; and which he would certainly have obtained, becauſe we want to preſerve our lives, to be rich, and maintain our ranks as Conſuls? But may the Gods deprive me of every thing in the world, ſooner than the conſtant reſolution I have taken, not only to refuſe the heir of him I have killed, that which I would not agree to in himſelf, but alſo not to conſent that even my father, were he to return to life, ſhould be more powerful than the laws and the Senate."

What he further adds, is in the manner of the Stoicks, but the ſubtilty of it does not at all diminiſh the elevation of the ſentiments contained in it. "There * is a contradiction, ſays he to Cicero, in what you demand; and it is impoſſible it ſhould be granted. You aſk Octavius to conſent to our preſervation. Do you imagine, that after we have received ſecurity for our lives, by that alone we ſhall enjoy a real ſafety? What kind of ſafety can that be called which muſt coſt us both our honour and liberty? Do you believe that to live in Rome, is to enjoy ſafety? It is the thing, and not the place, that ought to procure one that ineſtimable bleſſing. I was robbed of it while Cæſar lived, till the day I formed the project of that great and memorable action; and I cannot be baniſhed in whatever place I am, as long as I look upon ſlavery and the diſgrace annexed to it, as the greateſt of evils."

A little afterwards he mentions ſome things relating particularly to Cicero, and gives him very ſtrong

* Quî porro, id quod petis, fieri poteſt, ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos ſalvos eſſe. Videmur ergo tibi ſalutem accepturi, quum vitam acceperimus? quam, ſi prius dimittimus dignitatem ac libertatem, quî poſſumus accipere? An tu Romæ habitare, id putas incolumem eſſe? Res, non locus, oportet præſtet iſtuc mihi. Neque incolumis ſui Cæſare vivo, niſi poſtquam illud conſcivi facinus: neque uſquam exſul eſſe poſſum, dum ſervire & pati contumelias pejus odero malis omnibus aliis.

leſſons

leſſons in a very free manner. "Do * not recommend me any more, ſays he, to the protection of your young Cæſar. If you would take my advice, you ſhould not recommend yourſelf to him. You muſt ſurely put a very great value on the number of years which you can now hope to live, ſince that can make you ſtoop to ſupplicate a child. Beſides, I would have you beware of tarniſhing the glory of thoſe great things you have done, and ſtill continue to do againſt Anthony. Take care that people do not impute them to generoſity, but to a concern for your own ſafety; for if you are willing to aſk pardon for us of Octavius, people will think that your ſcheme has not been to avoid having a maſter, but to find out one who loved you, and was good natured." A. R. 709 Ant. C. 43.

After ſome other reflections, which I omit, he proceeds thus. "For † my part, I am a man, who not only diſdain to make any ſupplication myſelf, but diſcourage all thoſe who adviſe me to it; in which if I do not ſucceed, at leaſt I ſhall not be mortified with the view of voluntary ſlavery. Every place where I can be free, ſhall be to me a Rome; and I ſhall commiſerate you and thoſe other Senators, whom neither age, paſt honours, nor the examples of virtue in others could teach to deſpiſe life."

He further declares a ſteady reſolution to try every thing to deliver his country from ſlavery; and adds, "If ‡ I meet with the ſucceſs which is due to ſo no-

* Me verò poſthac ne commendaveris Cæſari tuo: ne te quidem ipſum, ſi me audies. Valde carè æſtimas tot annos, quot iſta ætas recipit, ſi propter eam cauſam puero iſti ſupplicaturus es. Deinde, quod pulcherrimè feciſti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur à laude maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis. Nam ſi Octavius tibi placet, à quo de noſtra ſalute petendum ſit, non dominum fugiſſe, ſed amiciorem dominum quæſiſſe videberis.

† Ego verò is ſum, qui non modò non ſupplicem, ſed etiam coerceam poſtulantes ut ſibi ſupplicetur. Aut longè à ſervientibus abero, mihique eſſe judicabo Romam, ubicunque liberum eſſe licebit: ac veſtri miſerebor, quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere potuerit.

‡ Si ſecuta fuerit quæ debet fortuna, gaudebimus omnes: ſin minus, ego tamen gaudebo. Quibus enim potius hæc vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur, quam iis quæ pertinuerint ad liberandos cives meos?

ble

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. ble a project, the joy will be univerſal; if not, at leaſt I ſhall rejoice myſelf. For in what actions or ſchemes can I better employ my life, than in thoſe which tend to eſtabliſh my fellow-citizens in poſſeſſion of their liberties?"

When he comes to conclude, he is more gentle, but nevertheleſs ſtill preſerves the aſcendant. "I † beſeech and adviſe you, my dear Cicero, not to deſpond or be diſcouraged; and while you are careful to avert the preſent evils, endeavour to prevent thoſe ſtill greater which threaten you. Be perſuaded, that the zeal for liberty, and the generous courage by which you have ſaved the Republick both formerly from the rage of Cataline, and lately from that of Anthony; be perſuaded, I ſay, that that courage will loſe its reward, unleſs ſupported by a conſtant perſeverance. For certainly that virtue which has been put to the trial, is ſubject to a more ſevere law, than that which has not yet diſcovered itſelf. Whoever has begun to do good actions, ought to expect that a continuation of the ſame conduct will be demanded of him as a debt; and if he is deficient in it, we are induced to cenſure him rigorouſly, as having deceived us. Thus for Cicero to reſiſt Anthony, is doubtleſs worthy of very great praiſe; but nobody is ſurprized at it, becauſe ſo great a Conful as he has ſhewed himſelf, muſt be expected to give a good account of his Conſulſhip. On the contrary, if the ſame Cicero ſhould be remiſs with regard to others,

† Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor ne defatigare, neu diffidas: ſemper in præſentibus malis prohibendis futura quoque niſi antè ſit occurſum, explores ne ſe inſinuent. Fortem & liberum animum quo & Conſul, & nunc Conſularis rempublicam vindicaſti, ſine conſtantia & æquabilitate nullum eſſe putaris. Fateor enim duriorem eſſe conditionem ſpectatæ virtutis, quàm incognitæ. Benefacta pro debitis exigimus. Quæ aliter eveniunt, ut decepti ab his, infeſto animo reprehendimus. Itaque reſiſtere Antonio Ciceronem, etſi magnâ laude dignum eſt, tamen, quia ille Conſul hunc Conſularem meritò præſtare videtur, nemo admiratur. Idem Cicero ſi flexerit adversùs alios judicium ſuum, quod tantâ firmitate ac magnitudine direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modò reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit ſibi, ſed etium præterita evaneſcere coget. Nihil enim per ſe amplum eſt, niſi in quo judicii ratio exſtat. BRUT. ad Cic. 16.

after having ſhewed his firmneſs againſt Anthony, he will not only deprive himſelf of the glory which he might juſtly expect, but alſo loſe that which he had before acquired. For there is nothing truly glorious, but that which proceeds from a mind that is firm, and acting out of principle." A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

It muſt be owned, that Brutus appears very much ſuperior to Cicero in this letter. But that virtue, which is purely human, is always contradictory to itſelf in ſome reſpect. Thus there is a pride which diſcovers itſelf viſibly in a great many of the ſentiments of Brutus; and this hero's Stoiciſm promiſed him a firmneſs which his bad ſucceſs deprived him of, as we ſhall ſee at his death. It is revelation alone, as I have had occaſion to remark, that furniſhes us with a ſolid ſupport for virtue, by ſhewing us the reward of another life.

At the end of Brutus's letter to Cicero, there follows another from him to Atticus, which is no leſs intereſting. The principal ſubject of this alſo is Cicero, againſt whom Brutus expreſſes himſelf with leſs reſerve, though without the leaſt paſſion. There had never been a thorough intimacy between them, as any one may eaſily obſerve, who reads with attention Cicero's letter to Atticus. The ſame intereſt and manner of thinking, with regard to government, had made them contract a ſincere friendſhip, but always accompanied with ſome ſeeds of diſunion. The difference of their characters was an obſtacle to the uniting of their hearts. The one was more gentle, pliable, and diſpoſed to make allowances for circumſtances of times and perſons; the other was more haughty and rigid, taking truth and juſtice for the only rule of his ſentiments and conduct, ſo that it was no eaſy matter for two perſons in ſuch different characters to agree perfectly in every circumſtance.

The ſubject of this letter from Brutus to Atticus, is, that Cicero, who loved praiſe, had complained, that Brutus never paid him any compliment upon the real ſervices which he had rendered to the Republick.

Brutus

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Brutus anſwered, that Cicero had performed wonders againſt Anthony, but that he ſpoiled all by his complaiſance for young Octavius. This anſwer is wrote with great copiouſneſs, energy, and nobleneſs of ſentiment. I ſhall give an extract of ſome of the moſt beautiful parts of it.

Brutus * accuſes Cicero of having puſhed the deſire he had of pleaſing Octavius ſo far as to inſult Caſca, one of thoſe who had killed Cæſar, and to treat him as an Aſſaſſin. If the fact was true, it was certainly very ſtrange. Brutus looks upon it as certain, and expreſſes very ſtrongly his indignation againſt it. "Cicero is not ſenſible, then, ſays he, that theſe injurious terms which he makes uſe of fall more juſtly on himſelf, ſince he has occaſioned the death of five illuſtrious citizens inſtead of one. He muſt own himſelf to be an Aſſaſſin before he can brand Caſca with that name; and, with regard to our aſſociate, he imitates the invectives of Cataline's favourers. What! becauſe we are not conſtantly praiſing our ides † of March, as he has always in his mouth the ‡ nones of December, does he think that he has a better right to decry an heroic action, than Beſtia § and Clodius had to criticiſe his conſulſhip?"

Brutus proceeds directly to the principal object of his letter. "Our ‖ friend Cicero, ſays he, glories in

* Neſcio quid ſcribam tibi, niſi unum: pueri & cupiditatem & licentiam potius eſſe irritatam quàm repreſſam à Cicerone: tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiæ, ut ſe maledictis non abſtineat, iis quidem quæ in ipſum dupliciter recidunt, quòd & plures occidit uno, ſeque prius oportet fateatur ſicarium, quàm objiciat Caſcæ quod objicit, & imitatur in Caſca Beſtiam. An quia non omnibus horis jactamus Idus Martias, ſimiliter atque ille Nonas Decembres ſuas in ore habet, eo meliore conditione pulcherrimum factum vituperabit, quàm Beſtia & Clodius reprehendere illius Conſulatum ſoliti ſint?

† The day on which Cæſar was killed.

‡ The day on which the accomplices of Cataline were condemned to death by the Senate.

§ Tribunes of the people, who railed at Cicero's Conſulſhip.

‖ Suſtinuiſſe mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noſter. Quid hoc mihi prodeſt, ſi merces Antonii oppreſſi poſcitur in Antonii locum ſucceſſio; & ſi vindex illius mali, auctor exſtitit alterius, fundamentum & radices habituri altiores, ſi patiamur? ut jam iſta quæ facit, non dominationem, non, ſed dominum Antonium timentis ſint.

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having ſupported the war againſt Anthony, without going out of Rome. And of what uſe can this great piece of ſervice be to me, if by way of recompence for having oppreſſed Anthony, I am demanded to reſtore him to his former dignity; and if the avenger of the firſt tyrant muſt be allowed to ſet up another, who, if we ſuffer it, will be more ſtrongly eſtabliſhed, and more hardly extirpated? No, Cicero in acting thus, does not ſhew his fear of tyranny, but only that he will not have Anthony for the tyrant. But I can never approve of his way of thinking, who has an averſion only for the perſon and not for the thing, being no ways afraid of ſlavery in itſelf, but of ſlavery under an exaſperated maſter." A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

What follows a little below is ſtill more bitterly expreſſed. "We * are but too afraid of death, ſays he, of exile and poverty. Theſe, according to Cicero, are the worſt of evils; and, provided he has to do with men, of whom he can obtain his deſires, and be praiſed and careſſed, he does not refuſe a ſlavery which is honourable, if there can any thing be ſaid to be honourable in the midſt of miſery and diſgrace. Although Octavius calls Cicero his father, conſults him in every thing, praiſes him, and returns him acknowledgments, yet theſe fine compliments will ſoon be belied by their effects. For who is there ſo void

* Nimiùm timemus mortem, & exſilium, & paupertatem. Hæc videntur Ciceroni ultima eſſe in malis: & dum habeat à quibus impetret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur ac laudetur, ſervitutem, honorificam modò, non aſpernatur: ſi quidquam in extrema ac miſerrima contumelia poteſt honorificum eſſe. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem, referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat; tamen illud apparebit, verba rebus eſſe contraria. Quid enim tam alienum ab humanis ſenſibus eſt, quàm eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero ſit? Atqui eò tendit, id agit, ad eum exitum properat vir optimus, ut ſit illi Octavius propitius. Ego jam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus ſcio Ciceronem inſtructiſſimum eſſe. Quid enim illi proſunt quæ pro libertate patriæ, quæ de dignitate, quæ de morte, exſilio, paupertate, ſcripſit copioſiſſime? Quanto autem magis illa callere videtur Philippus, qui privigno minus tribuerit, quàm Cicero alieno tribuat? Deſinat igitur gloriando etiam inſectati dolores noſtros. Quid enim noſtrâ, victum eſſe Antonium, ſi victus eſt ut alii vacaret quod ille obtinuit? tametſi tuæ litteræ dubia etiam nunc ſignificant.

of

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. of common ſenſe as to look upon one as a father, who is not even a freeman? In the mean time our friend is in the right to regard the friendſhip and favour of Octavius as the object of his wiſhes, and ultimate aim of his politicks. I have no more any regard for all thoſe fine accompliſhments with which Cicero is adorned. Of what ſervice is it to him, all that he has wrote with ſo much eloquence for the liberty of his country, upon the glory of virtue, death, exile and poverty? How much more muſt Philip, though not a man of learning, appear to poſſeſs thoſe great maxims? He does leſs for his ſon-in-law, than Cicero for a ſtranger. Let him ceaſe then to increaſe our troubles, by praiſing himſelf at ſuch a rate. Of what ſervice is it to us that Anthony has been vanquiſhed, if that was done only to fill his place with another? Beſides, your letter makes me apprehend that the victory is not entire, nor quite confirmed.

"I agree *, then, that Cicero ſhall live, ſince he is reſolved upon it, ſuppliant and dependant, if he is not aſhamed to diſhonour his age, his former high offices, and glory. As for me, I will make war for ever, I do not ſay againſt perſons, but the thing itſelf, againſt tyranny, againſt thoſe commands iſſued in an extraordinary manner, againſt that domination and power which would raiſe itſelf above the laws: and there is no ſlavery ſo agreeable and advantageous, the offer of which can ſeduce me, or make me abandon my reſolution. In vain you tell me that Anthony is an honeſt man. I never believed it. Our anceſtors never would allow that in the Republick, a father ſhould be ſuffered to be a maſter and a tyrant."

* Vivat hercule Cicero, qui poteſt, ſupplex & obnoxius, ſi neque ætatis, neque honorum, neque rerum geſtarum pudet. Ego certè quin cum ipſa re bellum geram, hoc eſt, cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis, & dominatione, & potentia quæ ſupra leges ſe eſſe velit, nulla erit tam bona conditio ſerviendi quâ deterrear: quamvis ſit vir bonus, ut ſcribis, Antonius; quod ego nunquam exiſtimavi. Sed dominum, ne parentem quidem majores noſtri voluerunt eſſe.

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Brutus, after this long invective, which he very well knew would grieve Atticus, makes ſome excuſe for it; but, however, without retracting. On the contrary, he inſiſts afreſh upon the very foundation of the thing. "Be * perſuaded, ſays he, that my affection for Cicero is not in the leaſt diminiſhed, but my eſteem very much: for it is impoſſible that we ſhould not judge of objects according to their appearances." A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

It muſt be confeſſed, that theſe two letters of Brutus have a haughtineſs and roughneſs which few people are capable of. But had it been poſſible to have preſerved the liberty of Rome, it could only have been done by a man of that character. The conduct of Cicero, eſpecially towards the latter times, could not bear a compariſon with that of Brutus. It was too gentle, timorous, and ineffectual; and I am ſurprized, how people can undertake to juſtify his complaiſance for Octavius, when they ſee how he was rewarded for it. What could happen worſe to him than a cruel death? And how much more glorious would this death have been, had he ſhewn the ſame vigorous ſpirit againſt Octavius, as that with which he ſubdued the tyrannical power of Anthony?

In concluding this book, I ought not to omit the origin of one of the principal towns of France; viz. Lyons, which was founded by Minutius Plancus, who, while he wavered, waiting to declare himſelf for that party which appeared the ſtrongeſt, eſtabliſhed a colony at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone. The inhabitants of this town came from Vienne, formerly the capital of the Allobrogi, and afterwards a Roman colony. During the diſſenſions and wars between the Roman generals, the natives of that country had laid hold of the opportunity to drive out from their antient capital, the new comers who oppreſſed them. Theſe retired to the place where

* Perſuade tibi de voluntate propria mea nihil remiſſum eſſe, de judicio largiter. Neque enim impetrari poteſt, quin quale quidque videatur ei, talem quiſque de illo opinionem habeat. BRUT. Attico.

A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Plancus, by order of the Senate, built the town of Lyons. Vienne ſoon after returned under the Roman power; but looked with a jealous eye on the rapid increaſe of the new colony, which, by the advantage of its ſituation, ſoon became very flouriſhing; and hence aroſe a rivalſhip between thoſe two towns, which has laſted for ſeveral ages.

THE

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTY-NINTH.

THE ſecond Triumvirate. A proſcription. The ruin of the Republican party at Philippi. The death of Caſſius and Brutus. An. Rom. 709, 710.

SECT. I.

Octavius legally condemns all thoſe who had killed Cæſar. Sextus Pompeius aud Cn. Domitius, who had no part in the action, are comprehended in the condemnation. Octavius puts to death Q. Gallius Prætor of the City. He makes the Senate revoke the decree againſt Anthony and Lepidus. The misfortune and death of Decimus. Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus, unite together. Their interview in an iſland of the Reno. They wrangle about thoſe whom they ought to proſcribe. The exchange of Cicero's head, againſt thoſe of the uncle of Anthony and the brother of Lepidus. The project of a triumvirate. The marriage of Octavius with Anthony's daughter-in-law is reſolved upon. Prelude to the maſſacres. Great terror in Rome. The death of the Conſul Pedius. The entry of the three generals into Rome. A law to eſtabliſh the Triumvirate. The edict of the proſcription.

ſcription. The proſcription of the Triumviri more numerous than that of Sylla. A great many are proſcribed on account of their riches. Affectation in the choice of the names placed at the head of the catalogue of the proſcription. Octavius as cruel as his Collegues, or rather more ſo. The death of Cicero. Invectives of writers of all ſorts againſt Anthony, upon the ſubject of Cicero's death. The reaſon why Octavius has been ſpared. Character of Cicero. An expreſſion of Brutus concerning his death. C. Antonius killed by way of repriſal. The death of Quintus Cicero and his ſon. L. Cæſar ſaved by his ſiſter, Anthony's mother. Lepidus conſents to the eſcape of his brother Paulus. The death of Pollio's father-in-law, of the brother of Plancus, and of Toranius tutor to Octavius. Verres is proſcribed. An example of the piety of Æneas renewed by the ſon of Oppius. Varro put into cuſtody by Calenus. Atticus ſcratched out of the liſt of the proſcribed. An eulogium of his prudence and humanity. Meſſala blotted out of the number of the proſcribed. Particular obſervations upon ſome of the proſcribed. Fulvia makes a figure in the proſcription. The publick hatred falls particularly upon Anthony. The odious triumphs of Lepidus and Plancus. Refuges opened to the proſcribed out of Italy, eſpecially with Sextus Pompeius. Exactions of the Triumvirate. A tax impoſed by them on the ladies. Hortenſia's ſpeech upon this ſubject. Ventidius is made Conſul. His ſurpriſing fortune. Civic crowns decreed to the Triumviri. The Triumviri ſwear to obſerve the acts of Cæſar, and make others alſo do the ſame. They appoint magiſtrates for ſeveral years.

A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

OCTAVIUS having obtained the Conſulſhip by the means already mentioned, and thus united to the force of his arms the title of publick authority, began to execute the deſign he had always had at heart, though he had concealed it a great while, and undertook to avenge the death of Cæſar. He took the advantage of the Conſular authority to act legally in this affair. He cauſed the people to abſolve Dolabella, whom

whom the Senate had declared an enemy to the public, on account of the murder of Trebonius; and immediately eſtabliſhed by virtue of a law, which was propoſed by his Collegue Pedius, and ſupported by the votes of the people, a court of juſtice, or extraordinary commiſſion, to enquire into the aſſaſſination of Cæſar; and proceed to the tryal and condemnation of the aſſaſſins and their accomplices. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

They were ſummoned in form, and an officer called them by their names, to appear at the foot of the Tribunal, but they were all abſent; for thoſe among them who were at Rome when Octavius approached, had taken care to avoid the ſtorm by a ſpeedy flight. Thus not one of them anſwered to the ſummons. It is reported that at the name of Brutus proclaimed by the officer, the whole multitude which filled the place burſt into tears; and that the more eminent citizens held down their heads with ſhame and confuſion. The affair, however, was puſhed with no leſs vigour upon that account. There were great rewards promiſed to the accuſers. L. Corneficius accuſed Brutus; and Agrippa, who was always attached to Octavius, took upon him that odious office againſt Caſſius. It very well agrees with the low flattering character of the hiſtorian Velleius, to boaſt as he has done, that Capito his uncle ſeconded Agrippa in this affair. They were all baniſhed under the greateſt penalty which the Roman laws could impoſe: that is to ſay, exile and confiſcation of their goods. Only one of the judges had the courage to abſolve Brutus without being afraid of the preſence of the young Conſul, who aſſiſted perſonally in court, to obſerve how every one voted. This judge ſo intrepid was called Cicilius Coronas, and was a Senator. Octavius perſiſting always in the ſame affectation of clemency, did not ſeem to take amiſs the boldneſs of Cicilius; but ſoon after he baniſhed him. Plut. Brut.

Amongſt the accuſed was Caſca, a Tribune of the people. As his office rendered his perſon ſacred, and put him beyond the reach of the law, Octavius cauſed

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. him to be deprived of it by the votes of the Tribunes, upon a propoſal of Titius, one of Caſca's Collegues, who was willing to aſſiſt in vilifying an office with which he himſelf was inveſted.

It was not without deſign, that in the law of Pedius, to the murderers of Cæſar they added their accomplices. This undetermined addition gave Octavius the power, eaſily to include in the ſame condemnation with the real authors of the death of his great uncle, thoſe who had no other crime than that of being ſuſpected or formidable to him. There were ſeveral of them, no doubt; but in what remains of the hiſtory of thoſe times I find only two mentioned.

The firſt is Sextus Pompeius, who, ſo far from having had any part in the conſpiracy, had probably never heard of it before it was executed, being then in the fartheſt corner of Spain. But he was the laſt branch of an enemy's family, which Octavius deſired to ſacrifice to his ſafety. I reckon as the ſecond Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the ſon of that L. Domitius, who having always ſhown an irreconcileable hatred to Cæſar, was killed when he fled from Pharſalia. Anthony, in Appian, poſitively aſſures us, that Cn. Domitius had no hand in the murder of the Dictator; and the teſtimony of Suetonius is to the ſame purpoſe. What nevertheleſs renders the thing doubtful is, that Cicero in his ſecond Philippic ranks him amongſt the conſpirators. Perhaps he might be of the number of thoſe who had the vanity immediately after the death of Cæſar to join with Brutus and Caſſius in the Capitol, and wanted to partake of the glory of an action, in which they had run no riſk. In this caſe it is not ſurprizing that Cicero, ſpeaking in praiſe of the conſpiracy, thought it his duty to give a ſhare of the honour to Domitius who longed for it; and, on the other hand, after the conſpiracy was become puniſhable in the higheſt degree, it is ſtill more eaſy to conceive that Domitius ſhould carefully purge himſelf of it, and proclaim to all the world, which was very true, that he had no hand in it. It is certain, however,

Appian. Civil L. V. p. 707.

Suet. Ner. C. 3.

Cic. Phil. X. N. 27.

ever, that he obtained belief, and, by the conſent of Octavius arrived at the Conſulſhip, nay his ſon married into the family of the Cæſars, and became the uncle of Nero. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Though Octavius at that time ſeemed wholly engaged in avenging the death of his adoptive father, and in other reſpects he put on a good-natured appearance, he nevertheleſs diſcovered his cruelty with regard to Q. Gallius, at that time Prætor; and who ſince the death of Cornutus had the juriſdiction of the city. Suetonius relates the fact with very aggravating circumſtances. He ſays that Gallius being come to ſalute the Conſul, and carrying a pocket-book under his robe, was ſuſpected of concealing a poignard there; and upon that alone Octavius, without examining into the affair, for fear of finding Gallius innocent, made them hurry him away, gave him the queſtion like a ſlave, and, in fine, ordered them to put him to death, after having pulled out his eyes with his own hands. I own I can hardly believe, that Octavius could be guilty of ſo brutal a barbarity. He relates himſelf, in the memoirs which he compoſed of his life, that Gallius, having demanded a conference of him, endeavoured to aſſaſſinate him; that in conſequence of this he was put in priſon, from which being releaſed on condition of leaving Rome, he periſhed either by ſhipwreck, or by the hands of robbers on the high-way. This relation appears to me much more probable, only it is natural to think that Octavius diſguiſes under the notion of a ſhipwreck, or the attack by robbers, his order for aſſaſſinating Gallius as ſoon as he was out of Rome. Suet. Aug. 27.

It was no great affair to denounce condemnation againſt thoſe who had killed Cæſar; but to put the ſentence in execution, they muſt vanquiſh twenty Legions which Brutus and Caſſius had under their command. Octavius was not ſtrong enough for ſuch an enterprize alone. He therefore reſolved to put the laſt hand to the treaty of reconciliation and alliance, which had for ſome time been negotiated between

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. him, Anthony, and Lepidus. He had been charged by the Senate to make war againſt them; and as he ſtill feigned to obey the orders of the Senate, which he had cruſhed, he departed with his army with a deſign, as he ſaid, to fulfil his commiſſion. But in his abſence Pedius his Collegue propoſed to the Senate, to revoke the decrees by which Anthony and Lepidus had been declared enemies to their country. The abject Senators durſt not reject the propoſal, but they wanted to oblige Octavius to explain himſelf, though he had already ſufficiently ſhewn his intentions, and they deferred coming to a reſolution till they knew his opinion. He anſwered, with his uſual diſſimulation, that he was not at liberty to determine in this affair according to his mind; that the ſoldiers obliged him to incline towards clemency. Thus the Senate reeſtabliſhed Anthony and Lepidus in all their rights and dignities, and Octavius wrote to Anthony, that he intended to join him againſt Decimus.

It was no difficult matter to deſtroy this only chief of the Republican party in the weſt. In an inſtant all was turned againſt him. Pollio, who arrived from Spain with two Legions, joined Anthony; and Plancus, who, after the raiſing of the ſiege of Modena, had teſtified a great deal of zeal for the cauſe of liberty and for Decimus, not only abandoned his unfortunate Collegue, but even undertook to betray him; and not being able to ſucceed in it, he deſerted to Anthony with his four Legions.

Cic. ad Fam. X. 24. Decimus had a conſiderable army, viz. ten Legions; but the ſtrength of it was not proportioned to the number of troops, being almoſt all new levied. Not being able then to ſupport himſelf againſt ſo many and ſuch powerful enemies, he quitted Gaul, paſſed the Alps, and reſolved to gain Illyria, in order to join M. Brutus in Macedonia; but Octavius guarded all the paſſages. Decimus in ſo great an extremity endeavoured to take the route of Germany, and to make his way to Brutus through thoſe barbarous nations which in thoſe days occupied that vaſt country.

But

But the ſoldiers refuſing to follow ſo deſperate a reſolution, almoſt all left him, and ranged themſelves ſome under the ſtandard of Anthony, and others under that of Octavius. There remained only three hundred Gauliſh horſe, which formed his guard, and which preſently diſperſed themſelves different ways, ſo that he was obliged to fly himſelf with only nine attendants. After having wandered in different parts, he was at laſt ſtopt in Burgundy by robbers, who at his earneſt deſire conveyed him to the prince, or ruler of the country, who was called Camelus or Capenus, and whom Decimus looked upon as a friend. This Gaul received him graciouſly, and with all the external demonſtrations of reſpect; but he privately informed Anthony, who ſent an officer named Furius, accompanied with ſome horſemen, with orders to bring him the head of the fugitive. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Had it been poſſible for the unfortunate Decimus to have eſcaped, the generoſity of a friend would certainly have ſaved him; for at the approach of thoſe who were ſent to kill him, he hid himſelf in an obſcure retreat, and Anthony's men having purſued him thither, Ser. Terentius, favoured by the obſcurity of the place, preſented himſelf inſtead of Decimus, and was almoſt killed for him; but Furius knew his victim, and prevented the miſtake. Decimus was then pulled out of his lurking place, trembling; and he ſhewed in his laſt moments a timidity and love for life, which ſeemed to diſturb his reaſon. For he withdrew back his head from the ſword, and when they ordered him to ſtand firm, "Yes * I will, ſays he, let me die if I do not." A very extraordinary expreſſion in the circumſtance he was then in. His head was carried to Anthony, who wanted to examine it, and then made them beſtow the laſt honours upon it. Decimus periſhed the ſecond of thoſe who had attempted the life of Cæſar. Soon afterwards Val. Max. IV. 7. Val. Max. IX. 13. Seneca Epiſt. 82.

* Non ſolum cervicem gladio ſubtraxit, verum etiam conſtantius eam præbere admonitus, ipſis his verbis juravit: "Ita vivam, dabo." VAL. MAX. IX. 13.

Minu-

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Minucius Baſilus, another of the conſpirators, was murdered by his ſlaves, who could not bear his cruelty.

All the Roman forces on the eſtabliſhment in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, were under the command of Octavius, Anthony and Lepidus; and there no longer remained an enemy in arms in all theſe countries, only as far as they were enemies to one another. For each of them having no other object than his own particular power, regarded the others with a jealous eye, and the deſign of ſupplanting and deſtroying them reigned in his breaſt. But in the eaſt they had common enemies to ſubdue, the fear of which ſuſpended the effect of their diffidence and reciprocal animoſities. Before they could turn their arms againſt each other, it was neceſſary to exterminate Brutus and Caſſius.

Plut. Anton. Anthony, who had paſſed the Alps as a fugitive, repaſſed them at the head of ſeventeen Legions, including the troops of Lepidus, beſides ſix Legions which were left in Gaul under the command of a very deſpicable man, Lucius Varius, his bottle companion, whoſe ſtrong propenſity to drinking had gained him the name of Cotyla, which ſignifies a pint. Lepidus and Anthony, re-united together, advanced with a formidable army towards Bologna, whither Octavius alſo marched with almoſt an equal number of troops. The three chiefs were reſolved to meet and unite together, from a motive already mentioned. They had only the neceſſary terms to conſider of, and they treated of them themſelves, without mediators and miniſters. The affair was conducted in the following manner.

Appian. Civil. l. IV. At a ſmall diſtance from Bologna there runs a little river, in the middle of which there was an iſland, which was judged the propereſt place for holding the conferences. It ſeems that this river was that which is now called the Reno. They took all imaginary precautions in order to prevent diſtruſts, which were great, and but too well founded. They raiſed two bridges, one of which joined the iſland to the right bank

bank of the river, and the other to the left. Octavius and Anthony brought each five Legions within a certain diſtance, which had been agreed upon, and which was equal on both ſides. From thence they advanced as far as the bridges, accompanied only with three hundred men each, and there they ſtopped. Lepidus, who had had no perſonal quarrel with either, entered the iſland alone, and examined it, to convince himſelf that there was no ambuſcade to fear. Then he gave the ſignal to Octavius and Anthony, who ſet out at the ſame time to come to him, and at meeting puſhed their precautions ſo far as to ſearch each other, for fear of arms being concealed under their cloaths. There were three ſeats placed in the middle of the iſland, where they all ſat down, Octavius being in the middle, as Conſul. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

The greateſt difficulty they met with, during the three days which the conferences laſted, was the choice of thoſe whom they ought to ſacrifice to their reſentment. As Anthony and Octavius had made war againſt one another with a great deal of heat and animoſity, a great many of thoſe who were friends of the one were conſequently enemies of the other; and each, being willing to ſatisfy his vengeance, made objections to the ſaving of thoſe who had been of ſervice to the other. Eſpecially they debated for a long time, and very warmly, on the ſubject of Cicero. Anthony declared, that he could neither conſent to a reconciliation, or a peace, if they did not give him up a man who had done him ſo much miſchief; and Lepidus was of the ſame opinion. Octavius oppoſed it the firſt two days, but the third he conſented; and, by a moſt unnatural exchange, for the head of Cicero, Anthony yielded to him that of L. Cæſar his uncle, and Lepidus that of his brother Paulus. * Thus, ſays Plutarch, their paſſion and rage made them forget all ſenſe of humanity; or rather they ſhewed by Plut. Cic. & Ant.

* Οὗτως ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ θυμῷ καὶ λύσσης τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν· μᾶλλον δ' ἀπέδειξαν, ὡς ἐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ θηρίου ἔστιν ὀργιώτερον, ἐξουσίαν πάθους πρόσλαβόντος. PLUT. Cic.

their

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. their example, that there is no brute more fierce than man, where power and paſſion are united. I † do not believe, ſays the ſame author elſewhere, that ever there was a more atrocious, or more unnatural thing done than the exchange of which I ſpeak. For trafficking together murder againſt murder, they became the butchers as well of thoſe whom they gave up, as of thoſe who were given up to them; and the injuſtice was the greater with reſpect to their friends, whom they condemned to death even without hating them. Further one may believe that Anthony and Lepidus did no great violence themſelves, in ſacrificing the one his uncle, and the other his brother. They could not but take amiſs their conſtant zeal for the government of the Republick, and being lately declared enemies to the publick by their ſuffrages, they had a right to proſcribe them by way of repriſal.

Appian. Dio.

As to the other points, the three tyrants agreed well enough. It was concluded that Octavius ſhould abdicate the Conſulſhip, and give it up to Ventidius for the remaining part of the year. That they ſhould eſtabliſh ſovereign magiſtrates for the ſpace of five years, under the title of Triumviri, reformers of the Republick, with conſular authority. That they ſhould immediately appoint the annual magiſtrates for the five years the Triumvirate was to laſt, without having recourſe either to the conſent of the Senate or people. They divided among them, as their patrimony, all that part of the empire which they were already maſters of, or flattered themſelves to be. Lepidus was to have Spain, and Narbonne Gaul. Anthony took that Gaul which was conquered by Cæſar, and the Ciſalpine Gaul. Octavius had Africa, with Sicily and Sardinia; of which it was more eaſy to acquire the title than the real poſſeſſion. For Cor-

† Οὐδὲν ἀμότερον ἔδ' ἀγριώτερον τῆς διαμείψεως ταύτης δοκῶ γίνεσθαι· φόνῳ γὰρ ἀνθικαλλασσόμενοι φόνους, ὁμοίως μὲν ὃν ἐλάμβανον ἀντῆγον ἐς ἰδίους· δίκαιοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἦσαν, ἐς ἀπεκτόνουσαν μηδὲ μισοῦντας. PLUT. Ant.

nificius

nificius really poſſeſſed Africa, properly ſo called, in the name of the Senate; and we ſhall very ſoon ſee Sextus Pompeius take poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia. But Octavius was obliged to content himſelf with this ſhare, ſeeing his two aſſociates had more ancient pretenſions, than the agreement made with him, to theſe provinces, which they appropriated to themſelves. Italy was not comprehended in this diſtribution, as being the centre of the empire, and the country common to them all, of which they called themſelves the defenders and not the maſters. With regard to the provinces beyond ſea, they were under the obedience of Brutus and Caſſius, againſt whom war was reſolved. In order to which Anthony and Octavius were to take the command, and paſs the ſea, each of them at the head of twenty Legions; while Lepidus with three Legions was to remain in Rome, to keep Italy in awe; uniting with the dignity and power of a Triumvir, that of Conſul, in place of D. Brutus who was killed. In fine they determined the rewards which they were to give their ſoldiers, and which was as tyrannical as the reſt of their proceedings. For they agreed to eſtabliſh them in colonies, in eighteen towns in Italy, of which both the houſes and lands were to be given them. And theſe towns, which were ſo cruelly treated, were actually the largeſt and moſt beautiful of all Italy; ſuch as Capua, Reggio, Venoſa, Benevento, Rimini, and * Cremona, which laſt brought Mantua into the ſame diſgrace, by being unluckily in its neighbourhood.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

The three Chiefs obliged themſelves by oath to execute thoſe crimes which they had projected, and communicated to their armies what had been concluded amongſt them. Octavius, to whom all the honours were conſtantly yielded, becauſe he was Conſul, read to the troops which were aſſembled together, all the articles of the treaty, excepting that

* Mantua, væ! miſeræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.
VIRG. Eclog. IX. 28.

which

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. which regarded the heads of the great men they intended to cut off. The ſoldiers celebrated, with ſhouts of joy, the reconciliation of the two Generals, and thoſe of the different armies ſaluted each other as friends. And, further to confirm by a domeſtick alliance, the peace which yielded them ſo much pleaſure, they propoſed a marriage between Octavius and Clodia, Anthony's daughter-in-law, that is to ſay, the daughter of Fulvia his wife by Clodius, Cicero's enemy. This young lady was hardly marriageable, and Octavius had already entered into engagements with the daughter of Servilius Iſauricus. He conſented, however, to the propoſal which was made to him, truſting to the events to releaſe him from that contract, if afterwards he ſhould find it not agreeable.

Suet. Aug. 62.

The three combined Generals were ſo eager to ſhed blood, that in order to commence their murders, they only waited till they ſhould arrive at Rome. They ſent before them a number of ſoldiers, who had orders to kill twelve, others ſay ſeventeen, of their principal enemies, the chief of whom was Cicero. Four were ſurprized, and maſſacred immediately; the others concealed themſelves, or fled. And as the aſſaſſins ſpread themſelves over the city to ſearch for them, running along the ſtreets, and viſiting the houſes, the terror and conſternation amongſt all the illuſtrious Citizens were exceeding great. They neither knew the number nor names of the unfortunate victims deſtined to the ſlaughter. Thus every one believed himſelf to be in danger, and deſpair urged many of them to attempt the burning of their own houſes, to ſet fire to the public edifices, in order not to die unrevenged. The Conſul Pedius, who had remained in Rome, took an infinite deal of pains to appeaſe the commotion, calm the ſpirits, and perſuade thoſe who were afraid to wait till the next day; and as ſoon as day-light appeared, he cauſed to be fixed up the names of thoſe who were condemned to ſuffer. He aſſured them by the publick faith that there was not another perſon who had any thing to fear. And he

he acted ſincerely; for he was not let into the ſecret of his maſters. The fatigue which he underwent this night of terror and diſmay was ſo great, that he ſunk under it, and died the day following. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Theſe were only preludes to the calamities which threatened Rome. Preſently the authors of the publick miſeries arrived, and made their entries on three different days. Octavius the firſt, then Lepidus, and laſt of all Anthony; each being attended with a Prætorian Cohort or Guard, and one Legion. Thus the City was entirely filled with ſoldiers, which they took care to diſtribute in the moſt important poſts. Then P. Titius, Tribune of the people, propoſed the fatal law which eſtabliſhed three ſovereign magiſtrates, reformers of the Republick, with the conſular dignity, for five years, viz. M. Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius, who took poſſeſſion of this office the twenty-ſeventh of November following, and held it to the laſt of December of the ſixth year, reckoning from their commencement. Tab. Vetus, apud Pigh.

One may very well imagine that the votes of the people were favourable to this law which was propoſed. They even made publick rejoicings for it, as for a happy event; and the Citizens again put on the robe of peace, at the approaches of a proſcription more cruel than a war. The Triumviri loſt no time in publiſhing the edict which has been tranſmitted to us by Appian, and I believe the reader will not take it amiſs, if I tranſcribe here an act very ſingular in its kind, and drawn up by an able hand, who was at a great deal of pains, though without ſucceſs, to diſguiſe the blackneſs of the thing, by the moſt ſpecious colours poſſible to make uſe of.

After the names and qualities of the Triumviri, followed the tenor of the decree, in theſe terms. "If wicked men, by the moſt perfidious conduct, were not humble and ſuppliant, when they ſtand in need of clemency, and, after they have obtained it, enemies to their benefactors, and capable of attempting their lives; we ſhould not have ſeen thoſe perſons become

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. come the murderers of Cæſar, whom he had ſaved by his mercy, after having vanquiſhed them, whom he had alſo admitted among the number of his friends, and had loaded with all ſorts of favours, offices, and honours; and we ourſelves ſhould not be under the neceſſity of acting a ſevere part againſt thoſe who have offended us, and declared us enemies to the publick. But having learned both by our own experience, and the treatment which Cæſar has received, that there is a degree of wickedneſs which no clemency can overcome, we rather chuſe to prevent our enemies, than to wait thoſe evils which they have prepared for us. Our revenge therefore will neither appear unjuſt, cruel, nor exceſſive to any one who conſiders what we have ſuffered, and eſpecially what Cæſar ſuffered. He was Dictator and great Pontiff; he ſubjected the moſt formidable nations to this Empire; and he firſt of all endeavoured to croſs the mighty ocean, and diſcover to the Romans lands before to them unknown. And yet this great man has been murdered in full Senate, in a ſacred place, and in the view of the Gods themſelves. Nay, they even carried their wanton barbarity ſo far as to ſtab him three and thirty times with their poignards. And thoſe who committed this crime were men whom he had vanquiſhed, who owed him their lives, and even ſome of them mentioned in his will amongſt the number of his heirs. The reſt, inſtead of puniſhing ſo horrible a crime, have inveſted the aſſaſſins with commands and governments of provinces, of which they have known ſo well to take the advantage, that they have raiſed the publick money, and with it have levied troops againſt us; nay, even demanded it of nations at all times enemies to this Empire. They have burnt or deſtroyed to the very foundations, thoſe towns allied to the Romans which they could not bring over to their party; they have intimidated others, and are preparing to employ thoſe forces againſt us and their country.

" We

" We have already puniſhed ſome of theſe criminals, and you ſhall very ſhortly ſee ſeveral others of them ſuffer the juſt puniſhment they deſerve. All the Weſt has ſubmitted to us, Gaul, Spain and Italy. One thing only remains for us to do, and that is attended with difficulty; which is to paſs the ſea, and compleat our revenge on ſuch of the murderers as have invaded the Eaſtern provinces. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

" As we are juſt upon the point of making a war for you, which obliges us to leave Rome, it would not be agreeable neither to our intereſts nor yours, to leave behind us the enemies which we have here in a condition to take advantage of our abſence, by obſerving the uncertain events of war. It would be likewiſe dangerous for us in ſuch preſſing circumſtances to loſe time by delay. Wherefore we have reſolved to rid ourſelves of them all at once, and to render to them immediately that miſchief which they intended us, in declaring us and our armies enemies to our country. Thus theſe unjuſt and violent men condemned an infinite number of Citizens to periſh with us. But we ſhall be more moderate. No order, no company, no ſociety of people ſhall be the object of our revenge. The choice we ſhall make ſhall not even comprehend all thoſe who have been at variance with us, or who have endeavoured to hurt us. Riches, ſplendor, and honours ſhall be reckoned no crimes by us; and though it is natural that three ſhould have a greater number of enemies than one, yet the puniſhments which we ſhall inflict, ſhall not affect ſo many perſons as were proſcribed before us by a ſingle General, who, like us, in a civil diſſenſion had undertaken to reform the Republick, and whom you have ſirnamed Happy on account of his ſucceſs. We ſhall only puniſh the moſt wicked and the moſt culpable; in all which we have your intereſt in view, as much as our own. For while the Chiefs of the ſtate are divided and form different parties, you who are placed in a middle ſtation, muſt of conſequence be great ſufferers. Theſe are our motives; and further

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. we are obliged to procure ſome ſatisfaction to our ſoldiers, who have been ill uſed, and declared enemies to their country, by thoſe who had formed a project for deſtroying us all together. We might as ſoon as we arrived, have executed thoſe whom we had condemned. But out of regard to you we ſtrove rather to proſcribe them, than to ſurprize them at a time when they did not expect, in order that it might not be left in the power of the ſoldiers to extend the effect of their revenge in their paſſion to thoſe who ought to be exempted from it; but that having a liſt quite plain, both by the number and names of thoſe whom they have orders to puniſh, they may abſtain from doing violence to any beſides.

"Upon theſe accounts, and for the good and advantage of the publick, we forbid all and every one of you to receive any of thoſe whoſe names are mentioned in the liſt ſubjoined to this order, to protect them, or be aſſiſting to them in their flight. Whoever ſhall give them any aid or aſſiſtance, or ſhall hold any kind of correſpondence with them, ſhall be immediately added to the number of the proſcribed, without being allowed any manner of excuſe, or means of defence. Whoever ſhall kill any of the proſcribed, upon bringing their heads, ſhall receive as their fee a hundred thouſand ſeſterces, and if a ſlave, forty thouſand, together with his liberty, and the rank of a Citizen the ſame as his maſter. The ſame rewards are promiſed to thoſe who ſhall diſcover any of the proſcribed, and the names of thoſe who ſhall receive thoſe rewards ſhall not be regiſtered, ſo that he need never be afraid of being known afterwards."

I ſhall not ſtop to make a great many reflections on this bloody act, the horrid cruelty of which appears at firſt ſight, and is extremely ſhocking, in ſpite of the frivolous pretexts with which they endeavoured to palliate it.

I ſhall only remark firſt, that, according to Dio, what the Triumviri boaſt of confining themſelves to a leſs number of proſcribed than Sylla, is falſe. That hiſto-

hiſtorian aſſures us poſitively to the contrary; and the thing itſelf is very probable, becauſe any of the three was full as bad as the author of the firſt proſcription. This difference produced another effect very ſingular and melancholy. When Sylla ſhewed this barbarous example, his friends, at leaſt, had nothing to fear. But it was not the ſame in the preſent caſe. As Anthony and Octavius had had great quarrels with each other, and were even at war againſt one another, the friends of the one were the enemies of the other; ſo that to have been attached to either, was a ſufficient reaſon for being proſcribed. They were weak friends, and dangerous enemies, ſacrificing thoſe who had done them ſervice the more eaſily, becauſe both of them intended, whenever it ſhould be in their power, to attack and deſtroy each other, whence each of them endeavoured to remove from his collegue, whom he looked upon as a rival, the greateſt numbers poſſible of his creatures and aſſiſtants; and they were not afraid of being deprived themſelves of any of their ſupports, provided they weakened their antagoniſt. The ſame may be ſaid of Lepidus, who was neither leſs ambitious, nor more ſcrupulous than the two others, but only had leſs parts. We ſee by this, that the number of thoſe proſcribed by the Triumviri muſt have been carried very high, though we cannot exactly determine it. Sylla had affected no kind of myſtery in his affair; he even gloried in expoſing to the eyes of the world four thouſand ſeven hundred Citizens, of all ranks and conditions, which he had cauſed to be put to death. But Octavius, when he became maſter of the Empire under the name of Auguſtus, was aſhamed of his paſt cruelties. It is very probable that he endeavoured to deſtroy the monuments of them; and the writers have not dared to diſcover what the prince endeavoured to conceal. We find the number of Senators reckoned at one hundred and thirty, according to ſome, and three hundred, according to others. Appian reckons two thouſand knights. As to the num-

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Plut. Anton. & Appian. Liv. Epit. cxx.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. ber of Citizens of the lower order, we are quite in the dark.

My ſecond remark regards the expreſs declaration which the Triumviri made in their edict, to proſcribe no body on account of their riches. There could be nothing more oppoſite to their real intentions. They greatly wanted money, without which they could not make head againſt Brutus and Caſſius, who had acquired great treaſures, eſpecially the laſt, in the rich countries of Aſia and Syria. Thus it is ſtill more true with reſpect to the proſcription of the Triumvirate than that of Sylla, that the greateſt of all crimes was to be rich, and by this means afford to theſe avaritious tyrants the hopes of an ample ſpoil.

The names which appeared at the head of the catalogue of proſcription, declared at once the whole fury of the Triumviri, and were ſignals of terror to demonſtrate, that no body ought to expect that any conſideration could be capable of moving them. The firſt who were proſcribed were Paulus a brother of Lepidus, and L. Cæſar the uncle of Anthony. Next followed Plotius the brother of Plancus, and L. Quintius, father-in-law to Pollio. Though in the mean time, in another liſt, at the ſide of the former, Plancus and Pollio were deſigned Conſuls, the one for the year following, the other for the fourth year after the Triumviri were eſtabliſhed. And as if Octavius had been apprehenſive of degenerating from theſe examples of inhumanity, beſides Cicero, whom he was ſo much obliged to, he proſcribed C. Toranius, a friend of his father, who had been his own tutor when he was a child.

Suet. Aug.

It is then to little purpoſe that ſome writers have attempted to take part of the blame from Octavius, and to make a diſtinction between him and his Collegues. Suetonius informs us, that at firſt he actually oppoſed the project of the proſcription; but when once it was reſolved upon, he puſhed it with more vigour than the other two; and whereas Anthony and Lepidus allowed themſelves to relent on ſeveral occaſions,

ſions, that he was almoſt always inexorable. After the proſcription was executed, Lepidus thought they ought to make a kind of excuſe to the Senate for the paſt, and give them room to expect for the future a conduct full of gentleneſs and clemency, becauſe he looked upon his revenge as ſatisfied; but Octavius, on the contrary, declared, that if he had put an end to the proſcription, it was ſtill without tying up his hands, or preſcribing a law to him which might confine his liberty. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Dio, and eſpecially Appian, has left us a great many obſervations upon the events of this proſcription, and the adventures of the proſcribed, who did not all periſh. A great many ſaved themſelves by different ways, which neceſſity, very juſtly called the mother of invention, pointed out to them, or their friends, their neighbours and domeſticks. And with regard to thoſe who could not eſcape the cruelty of their aſſaſſins, ſpread all over Rome, and in the other towns and country of Italy, their melancholy fortune was attended with circumſtances extremely intereſting. In order to ſhun prolixity, I ſhall not here tranſcribe all the particular facts which are mentioned in authors, but only ſuch as regard the moſt illuſtrious perſons, and thoſe whoſe names are the moſt celebrated in hiſtory. I ſhall content myſelf with a general obſervation from Velleius, which does but little honour to human nature, which * is, that commonly ſpeaking, the proſcribed found in their wives, in thoſe cruel circumſtances, a perfect fidelity, in their freedmen and ſlaves, a tolerable one, but none at all in their ſons; ſo dangerous a thing is hope for ſeducing the human mind, and capable of violating the moſt ſacred rights, whenever they become hinderances to our ambition.

Amongſt the victims of the cruelty of the Triumviri, Cicero, on a great many accounts, was the firſt. Liv. ap. Sen.

* Id notandum eſt, fuiſſe in proſcriptos uxorem fidem ſummam, libertorum mediam, ſervorum aliquam, filiorum nullam. Adeo difficilis eſt hominibus utcumque conceptæ ſpei mora. VELL. II. 67.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Suaſor. VI. Vell. II. 66. Plut. Cic. Appian. Dio.

He had been proſcribed together with his ſon, his brother, his nephew, all thoſe who belonged to him, and who had any connection with him either by friendſhip or parentage. He could not promiſe himſelf a better fate, and he * knew very well, that he could no more hope for favour from Anthony, than Brutus and Caſſius could expect it from young Cæſar. For this reaſon he left Rome at the approach of the Triumviri, and his firſt deſign was to croſs the ſea with his brother, to go to Macedonia, to Brutus's camp. They travelled together ſome time, mutually condoling their bad fortune. But as their departure had been very precipitate, and they wanted a great many things, Quintus turned back to make more ample proviſion, and Cicero continued his route towards Gaeta, where having heard no news of his brother he embarked. Sometimes † the contrary winds, and ſometimes the fatigues of the ſea, which his body, quite ſpent with anxiety, could not ſupport, obliged him to diſembark. At laſt he found himſelf quite tired of flying and of life itſelf, and reſolved to go to a country-houſe which he had about a mile from the ſea. "I muſt, ſays he, die in my country, which I have ſaved more than once."

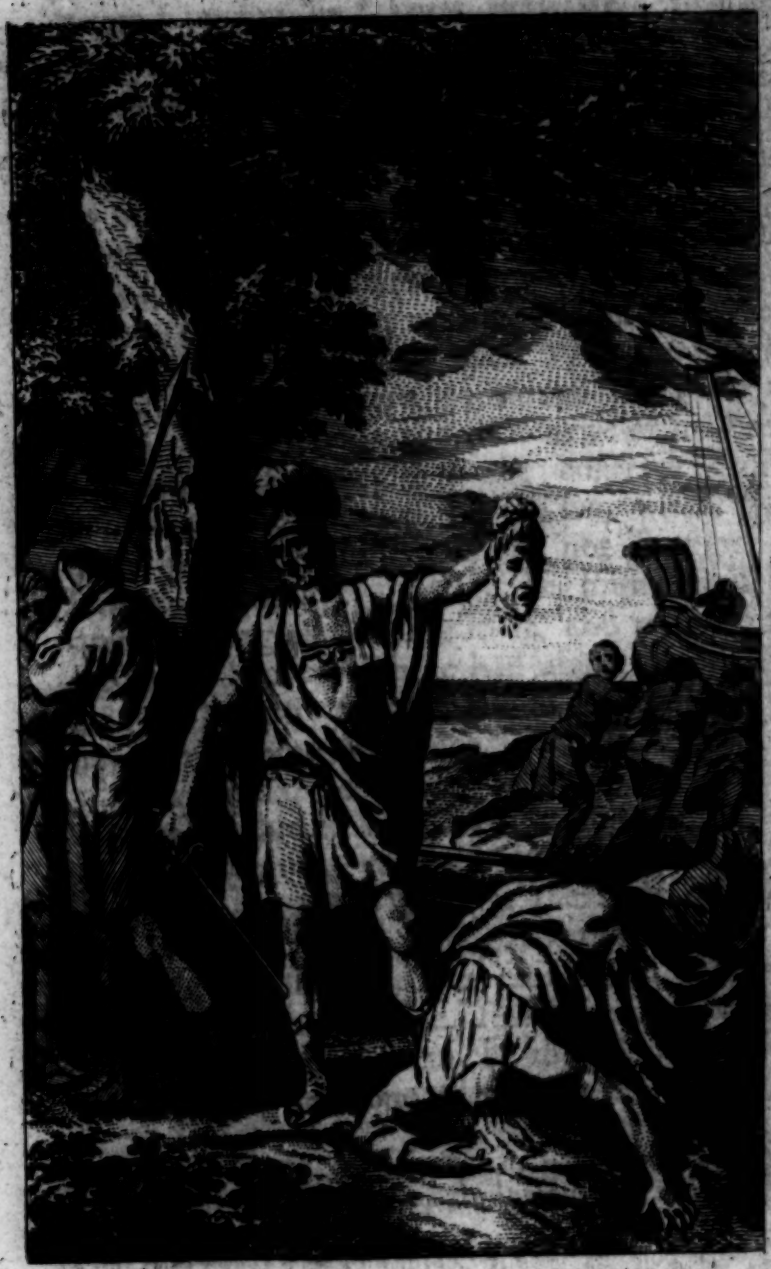
Superſtition, according to Plutarch, had a hand in this reſolution of Cicero's; for a flock of crows alighted upon the yard of the veſſel in which Cicero was, and began to peck at the ends of the ropes, which Cicero taking for a bad omen, deſired them to put him on ſhore. The crows ſtill followed him, and while he was in one of the chambers of his country-houſe lying on a couch, they flocked anew about the window, and one of them even went up to his

* M. Cicero ſub adventum Triumvirorum ceſſerat urbe, pro certo habens, id quod erat, non magis Antonio eripi ſe, quam Cæſari Brutum & Caſſium poſſe. Liv.

† Aliquoties in altum provectum quum modò venti adverſi retuliſſent, modò ipſe jactationem navis cæco volvente fluctu pati non poſſet, tædium tandem eum & fugæ & vitæ cæpit: regreſſuſque ad ſuperiorem villam, quæ paulo plus mille paſſibus à mari abeſt, "Moriar," inquit, "in patria ſæpe ſervata."

couch,





The Death of CICERO.

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couch, and with his beak pulled the cap from Cicero's head. The generality of mankind are greatly addicted to the marvellous, and eſpecially with relation to the tragical deaths of great men. Theſe trifling circumſtances, which doubtleſs have a great mixture of the fabulous, very little deſerve to be related by ſo judicious a writer as Plutarch. I am ſorry too that he ſhould have attributed that fooliſh thought to Cicero of going to Rome, ſtealing privately into the houſe of Octavius, and killing himſelf before the houſehold Gods of that ungrateful man, in order to bring down upon him the wrath and vengeance of heaven. But the fear of the torment, ſay they, to which he thereby muſt expoſe himſelf, hindered him from doing it. As for my part, all this ſeems to me to be adjuſted to the Theatre, and I confine myſelf to the more ſimple account of Titus Livius. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

It appears, that Cicero's ſervants pulled him out in a manner by force from his houſe, to endeavour to conceal him. But they had not time; for when they were upon the road, thoſe who ſearched for him to kill him overtook them. Some report that they were directed by a freedman of Q. Cicero, named Philologus, who had been inſtructed by the very perſon whom he betrayed. But the fact is not at all certain. The murderers had at their head a military tribune named Popilius, who had formerly been defended by Cicero in a doubtful cauſe; and in recompence of this ſervice, earneſtly demanded a commiſſion to kill his benefactor. Cicero's ſlaves * were willing to defend their maſter, but he ordered them to ſtop the litter, and to let him ſuffer quietly what his cruel fate

* Satis conſtat ſervos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuiſſe ad dimicandum: ipſum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati quod ſora iniqua cogeret, juſſiſſe. Pronimenti ex lectica, præbentique immotam cervicem, caput præciſum eſt. Nec ſatis ſtolidæ crudelitati militum fuit. Manus quoque, ſcripſiſſe aliquid in Antonium exprobrantes, præciderunt. Ita relatum caput ad Antonium, juſſuque ejus inter duas manus in Roſtris poſitum, ubi ille Conſul, ubi ſæpe Conſularis, ubi eo ipſo anno adversùs Antonium, quanta nulla unquam humana vox cum admiratione eloquentiæ, auditus fuerat. Vix attollentes præ lacrymis oculos homines intueri trucidata membra ejus poterant.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. rendered inevitable. In the mean time, fixing his eyes upon the aſſaſſins, he thruſt his head out at the door of the litter, and the Centurion Herennius immediately wounded him, while the ſoldiers themſelves, touched at the misfortunes and firmneſs of a man ſo worthy of reſpect, turned down their eyes and covered their faces. This was not enough to ſatisfy the brutal barbarity of the Centurion, for he cut his hands again, even reproaching him before his death of having wrote againſt Anthony. Plutarch aſſures us, that in this he executed the orders of that cruel Triumvir.

Popilius carried the head and hands of Cicero to Anthony, who was not at all afraid to feaſt his eyes upon ſo horrid a ſpectacle; and after having examined attentively, and even with great burſts of laughter, the frightful and lamentable remains, ordered them to be placed on the Orator's tribunal, ſaying, that, as to him, the proſcription was now finiſhed. The head of Cicero was then expoſed between his two hands on the ſame place, where ſo many times, both during his Conſulſhip and afterwards, and in fine, the laſt year of his life, in his ſpeech againſt Anthony, he had diſplayed an eloquence, which no man ever equalled, or, at leaſt, ſurpaſſed. All the ſpectators were affected, and durſt not raiſe their eyes bathed in tears to thoſe objects, the ſight of which pierced them exceſſively with grief. Anthony * by this intended to inſult the memory of him whom he hated, and he did not ſee that he diſhonoured himſelf by this ſhameful revenge, which proved his inſolence in proſperity, and the unworthy abuſe which he made of his power. They aſſure us that he had the baſeneſs to crown with his own hand Popilius the chief of the murderers, and that he ſuffered that wretch to place upon the Orator's tribunal his own picture adorned with a crown, at the ſide of the deplorable remains of him whom he had killed.

* Καθάπερ εἰς τὸν πατρὸς ὑβρίζων, ἐχαλέπαινε τῇ τύχῃ ὁ καλαισχύνοντα τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐπιθυμῶν. PLUT. Anton.

Ful-

Fulvia, formerly married to Clodius, but now the wife of Anthony, and beſides perſonally offended at Cicero, who had more than once expreſſed herſelf ſatyrically againſt him, vented againſt his head that paſſion and rage with which ſhe would have tormented him while alive, if ſhe had had it in her power. Before it was fixt upon the tribunal, ſhe placed it before her, loaded it with reproaches, ſpit upon it, and, having put it on her knee, ſhe opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which ſhe pierced with her bodkin; an action worthy ſuch a fury as this woman had always been, and continued to be to the end of her life. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Poſterity has very well revenged Cicero upon Anthony's outrages. No death could ever be more bitterly deplored, than that of him who had done ſo much honour to letters. Poets, orators, and hiſtorians have all ſignalized their grief for the melancholy end of Cicero; and by a very natural conſequence have expreſſed an extreme indignation againſt his murderer. We find in a collection of Seneca the father, a great many fragments of orators and antient hiſtorians who have exerciſed their talents upon this ſubject. Velleius, as great a flatterer as he was, allows himſelf here to be tranſported with zeal ſo far as to interrupt the thread of his narration, and leave the ſtile of an hiſtorian to inveigh againſt Anthony's cruelty. Pliny the elder expreſſes himſelf very ſtrongly upon it in a few words, affirming that Cicero was not proſcribed by Anthony, but on the contrary, that Anthony proſcribed himſelf, by covering himſelf with infamy in the eyes of all poſterity. Martial * declares that Anthony appeared to him more criminal by the death of Cicero alone, than by all the carnage of the reſt who were proſcribed; and that there was no more room to reproach the wretched Pothinus, murderer of the great Pompey. Sen. Suaſor. VI. Plin. VII. 30.

* Antoni, Phario nihil objecture Pothino,
Et levius tabulâ, quàm Cicerone, nocens.
MARTIAL. V. 69.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Octavius is ſpared in all theſe reproaches; not becauſe he did not deſerve a ſhare of them; but becauſe of his becoming emperor, and their being afraid, even under his ſucceſſors, to ſhew any want of reſpect to his memory. And beſides that he had never acted directly againſt Cicero, and had himſelf oppoſed, though weakly, the deſign of the proſcription, he rendered him juſtice afterwards to a certain degree; and Plutarch has preſerved to us a memorable paſſage on this ſubject. He tells us that ſeveral years afterwards, when Octavius governed the empire under the title of Auguſtus, he entered haſtily the chamber of one of his grandſons, who happened to have a book of Cicero in his hand. The young prince alarmed, concealed the book under his robe. Auguſtus took it from him, and read a good deal of it. After which he returned it ſaying, "he was a man of genius, my ſon, and a lover of his country."

Plut. Cic.

Auct. de Cauſ. corr. Eloq. n. 17.

Cicero was murthered the ſeventh of December, in the laſt month of the ſixty-fourth year of his age. So that according to † Titus Livius, whoſe pencil I ſhall here borrow to trace in miniature the portrait of ſo famous a man, his death could not have appeared altogether premature, provided it had been natural. His ſublime talent has diſplayed itſelf in immortal performances, and been recompenſed with the greateſt honours. Fortune was for a long time favourable to him; but during a courſe of proſperity, having ſuffered ſeveral cruel diſgraces, baniſhment, the fall of the party to which he was attached, the loſs of his daughter, and at laſt a tragical and cruel end, of all his adverſities he ſupported none with that firmneſs

† Vixit tres & ſexaginta annos, ut, ſi vis abfuiſſet, ne immatura quidem mors videri poſſit. Ingenium & operibus; & præmiis operum, felix. Ipſe fortunæ diu proſperæ: & in longo tenore felicitatis, magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exſilio, ruinâ partium pro quibus ſteterat, filiæ morte, exitu tam triſti atque acerbo, omnium adverſorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit, præter mortem: quæ verè eſtimanti minùs indigna videri potuit, quòd à victore inimico nil crudelius paſſus erat, quàm quod ejuſdem fortunæ compos ipſe feciſſet. Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia penſarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in cujus laudes Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.

which

which becomes a man of courage, excepting only his death. And even his death, to judge equitably of it, may appear leſs undeſerved, and atrocious, becauſe he only ſuffered from his enemy what he would have made him ſuffer, had he had the opportunity and power in his hands. After all, let us compenſate his faults with his virtues, and we ſhall find that he was a great man, full of fire and elevation of ſpirit, for ever to be remembered, and not to be ſufficiently praiſed unleſs by another Cicero. A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Thus Titus Livius expreſſes himſelf, who, like a great * man, praiſes without reſerve the merit and talents of others. Pollio, though partial enough elſewhere to Cicero, makes uſe of almoſt the ſame language. Only † to that weakneſs of mind in diſaſters with which that great genius has been reproached by all thoſe who have mentioned him, he adds a want of moderation in proſperity. Cicero, in whatever ſituation he was, whether happy or miſerable, never thought that it could change; very different from that well prepared heart mentioned by Horace ‡ which hopes in adverſity, and in proſperity fears the return of bad fortune.

Brutus, who was always a little rigid in his ſentiments, judged very ſeverely of the death of Cicero. He ſaid he was more aſhamed of the cauſe of it, than afflicted at the loſs. This expreſſion has no need of a commentary, after thoſe fragments of his letters which I have quoted, in which he cenſures Cicero's complaiſance to Octavius with ſo much eagerneſs. Nevertheleſs he revenged his death, and to appeaſe the manes of Cicero and Decimus, who were both his friends, and one of them his relation, he ſent orders Plut. Brut.

* Candidiſſimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum æſtimator T. Livius. SEN. ibid.

† Utinam moderatiùs ſecundas res, & fortius adverſas ferre potuiſſet! Nam utræque quum venerant ei, mutari eas non poſſe rebatur. ASIN. POLL. ap. Sen. ibid.

‡ Sperat infeſtis, metuit ſecundis
Alteram ſortem bene præparatum
Pectus. HOR. Od. II. 10.

to

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. to Hortenſius to put to death Caius Antonius his priſoner, and brother of the Triumvir. He had ſpared him till that time out of pure generoſity, without hearkening to the repeated inſtigations of Cicero, who adviſed him not to truſt him from the beginning. Caius, during the time he was under the power of Brutus, had made two different attempts to raiſe a ſedition among the troops of his vanquiſher. The cruelty of his brother appeared to Brutus a deciſive reaſon for ſacrificing him, and I do not obſerve that he is blamed for it in hiſtory, although thoſe repriſals, which certainly put no ſtop to the unjuſt violence of the enemy, ſeem to me but very little conformable to humanity.

The ſon of Cicero, who had been proſcribed together with his father, was now with Brutus, and not only eſcaped the fury of the proſcription, but was afterwards advanced to the Conſulſhip by Octavius, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

Appian. Dio. Quintus Cicero and his Son had not ſo happy a fate. The ſon was taken firſt, having been betrayed by his ſlaves. His behaviour had been the cauſe of frequent vexations to his family; and Cicero's letters to Atticus are full of complaints againſt him. Nevertheleſs on this laſt and melancholy occaſion, he gave proofs of a filial tenderneſs which can never be enough commended. He concealed his father, and though delivered to the hands of the executioners, who tormented him in order to make him diſcover the ſecret, he obſtinately kept a generous ſilence. But the father who was not far off, and heard all that paſſed, could not endure that his ſon ſhould be ſo cruelly treated on his account, and therefore he diſcovered himſelf. There was a ſtruggle between them who ſhould die firſt; but the executioner ſettled that point, by cutting both their throats at the ſame time.

The uncle of Anthony was ſaved by his ſiſter Julia, the mother of the Triumvir. This lady received her brother into her houſe, where he continued quiet for ſome time; becauſe the Centurions reſpected the mother

ther of their general. There was one perſon, however, audacious enough to come with the ſoldiers, and attempt to force an entry into the houſe. Julia preſented herſelf at the gate, and ſtretching out her arms to hinder the aſſaſſins from paſſing; "You "ſhall not kill Cæſar, ſays ſhe to them, till you have "firſt killed her who gave life to your General." However well accuſtomed the ſoldiers were to inſolence, and all ſorts of cruelties, they ſtopped ſhort at her generous declaration, and durſt go no further. Then Julia, to deliver her brother entirely out of danger, went to the Forum, where Anthony was, ſitting on his tribunal with his two Collegues, and addreſſing herſelf to him: "I come to accuſe myſelf, ſays ſhe, "of concealing L. Cæſar. Order me to be killed, "ſince death is alſo denounced againſt thoſe who "ſuccour any of the proſcribed." Anthony anſwered, that ſhe was a better ſiſter than ſhe had ſhewn herſelf a mother, ſince, though ſhe did not hinder L. Cæſar from declaring her ſon an enemy to the publick, ſhe nevertheleſs wanted to reſcue him from a juſt vengeance. He could not, however, refuſe his mother, and L. Cæſar, by her means, enjoyed a perfect ſafety. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Paulus had not ſuch great difficulty in obtaining favour from his brother Lepidus; for without any noiſe or buſtle, a tacit commiſſion of the Triumvir, and the reſpect which the ſoldiers had for the brother of their General, gave him an opportunity of going out of Italy. He went to Brutus's camp, and after the battle of Philippi he retired to Miletus, and there paſſed the remainder of his days, without deigning to accept of that liberty which was granted him to return to Rome.

There are ſtill remaining three of the number of the proſcribed, whoſe fate I ought to give an account of. The father-in-law of Pollio, having been happy enough to gain the ſea and to embark, was overtaken by a ſtorm. He was ſeized with a very ſtrange kind of deſpair, if we may believe Appian; and in order that

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. that he might not periſh by ſhipwreck, he threw himſelf into the ſea. I find in the ſame author, amongſt thoſe whoſe ungrateful ſons demanded and urged their death, one C. Toranius, an antient Prætor, who appears to be the tutor of Octavius, whom I have mentioned. He was killed by the ſoldiers. The death of Plotius, the brother of Plancus, was ſingular in this reſpect, that he was diſcovered by the odour of the perfumes which he uſed even in his retreat. However, he was not found at once; and his ſlaves, from a very commendable fidelity, choſe rather to ſuffer the torture than diſcover their maſter. Plotius, however, delivered them by diſcovering himſelf, and was killed.

Plin. xiii. 3. Val. Max. vi. 8.

Amidſt this great number of innocent perſons who deſerved a better fate, one can hardly much lament a famous criminal, whoſe injuſtice and violence render him unworthy of all pity. This is Verres, who was accuſed ſeveral years before by Cicero, and reduced to baniſh himſelf; but afterwards returned to Rome, no doubt by virtue of that law of Cæſar which recalled all exiles. The ſame mad paſſion which he had for thoſe curious trifles, which had made him commit ſo many crimes, was alſo the cauſe of his death. He had three beautiful vaſes of Corinthian braſs, which Anthony paſſionately longed for; and upon Verres's refuſing to give them to the Triumvir, he was proſcribed.

Plin. xxxiv. 2.

Appian. With ſuch a number of ſo many melancholy objects, let us mingle ſome which are more chearful, and amongſt ſo many crimes, give place to ſome inſtances of virtue. There is none appears to me more worthy of record than that of a ſon, who renewed the example of the piety of Æneas with the like ſucceſs. His father Appius, aged and infirm, ſeeing himſelf proſcribed, did not think that what remained of a languiſhing life was worth the pains of preſerving, and was willing to wait for the murtherers quietly at his own houſe. He could not, however, reſiſt the preſſing inſtances and zeal of his ſon, who took him on

on his ſhoulders, and, loaded with this precious burthen, went all over the city, unknown to ſome, and commanding the reſpect of others by the beauty of ſo commendable and generous an action. As ſoon as they got out of Rome, the ſon, ſometimes aſſiſting his father to walk, and ſometimes carrying him, when the fatigue was too great, conducted him to the ſea, where he made him embark for Sicily. This admirable inſtance of filial piety ſhone forth in full luſtre at a time, when, as I have ſaid, according to Velleius, all was full of examples of unnatural ſons. The people preſerved the remembrance of it, and ſome time afterwards, whenRome was quieted, they made young Oppius an edile. But the goods of his father having been confiſcated, the edile had not wherewithal to defray the expence of the games belonging to that office; on which account the workmen charged nothing for their labour, and the ſpectators, taxing themſelves willingly each according to his ability, threw upon the * Theatre a large quantity of ſilver, to make good, with regard to Oppius, the injuſtice of fortune. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

F. Calenus, who had always been attached, as may eaſily be obſerved, to Cæſar and Anthony, acted as a faithful friend with regard to the learned Varro. The merit of this extraordinary man, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in arms as well as in letters, could not fail of rendering him odious to, and ſuſpected by the Triumviri. Beſides, he had been a friend and partizan of Pompey; and in ſhort Anthony, during Cæſar's life-time, had taken from him part of his property. The friends of Varro diſputed the honour of ſupporting him in his diſgrace, and Calenus obtained the preference. He carried him to a country-houſe, where Anthony frequently came, without ſuſpecting in the leaſt that a proſcribed perſon of that importance lodged under the ſame roof with him.

* The Orcheſtrea is the part of the Roman theatre where the Senators and Veſtals ſat.

Thus

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. A. Gel. iii. 10. Thus Varro paſſed all the time of danger in ſafety; after which he appeared again, having ſuffered no other damage from the proſcription, than the pillaging of his library. He lived a long while after, and continued * his learned labours as long as he lived, that is, to the age of a hundred years.

Corn. Nepos in Attici vita. Atticus, an intimate friend of Cicero and Brutus, but who nevertheleſs had done very eſſential ſervices to the family of Anthony in his misfortunes, received then the reward of ſo moderate a conduct. He imagined he was threatened, and not without foundation, for he was really proſcribed. He therefore wiſely reſolved to conceal himſelf, and his refuge was the houſe of P. Volumnius, who owed him very great and recent obligations. He ſhut himſelf up there with Q. Gellius Canus, who had been his friend from his infancy, and reſembled him perfectly in the gentleneſs of his manners. Volumnius was careſſed by Anthony, and the companion of his pleaſures. However, he had no occaſion to make uſe of his credit with him in favour of Atticus. This Triumvir, who was doubtleſs very cruel, but rather through paſſion and fury than from his natural diſpoſition, which was capable of generoſity, remembered how much he owed to Atticus, and being informed of the place where he concealed himſelf, he wrote to him with his own hand, aſſuring him that he had nothing to fear, neither for himſelf nor for Gellius Canus, for that by his orders they were both raſed out of the liſt of the proſcribed. This was a double joy to Atticus to ſave his companion, whoſe friendſhip, which commenced when they were at ſchool, conſtantly increaſed till they were both become old.

C. Nepos commends greatly on this occaſion the prudence of Atticus; and though the life which he has compoſed of this illuſtrious Roman knight, is not void of panegyrick, I own that I ſubſcribe more wil-

* In eodem lectulo & ſpiritus ejus, & egregiorum operum curſus exſtinctus eſt. VAL. MAX. viii. 7.

lingly

lingly to his elogiums, than to the invidious obſerva- A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.
tions of the Abbe de S. Réal. Why ſhould not one adopt, for example, this reflection of C. Nepos? "If, * ſays he, we boaſt of the ſkill of a pilot who is capable of ſaving his veſſel in a ſtorm, and from the ſhelves which lie ſcattered under the waves, why ſhould not we commend the prudence of a citizen who, amidſt ſo many ſtorms in the Republick, could ſave himſelf from ſhipwreck?" This prudence is ſo much the more commendable in Atticus, as it was always attended with good nature, generoſity, and a determined inclination to do good to all. Thus having eſcaped himſelf from the danger of the proſcription, he was the reſource of a great number of the proſcribed. He had lands and ample poſſeſſions in Epirus; and whoever among the proſcribed retired there, found every thing he could wiſh for as long as he pleaſed to ſtay there.

I cannot finiſh this account of the proſcribed better than with Meſſalla, who was then young, but promiſed all that could be expected from a generous mind, and a ſuperior genius. We have a large commendation of him in a letter from Cicero to Brutus; and I ſhall tranſcribe it here ſo much the more willingly, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterwards more than once of him who is the ſubject of it. He had left Cicero to go and join Brutus, by whom he was extremely beloved and eſteemed. Cicero ſays then to Brutus, "You † know him, and conſequently

* Quod ſi gubernator præcipuâ laude fertur, qui navem ex hieme marique ſcopuloſo ſervat; cur non ſingularis ejus exiſtimetur prudentia, qui ex tot tamque gravibus procellis civilibus ad incolumitatem pervenit?

† Cave exiſtimes, Brute, (quanquam non eſt neceſſe ea me ad te quæ tibi nota ſunt ſcribere: ſed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo ſilentio præterire) cave putes, probitate, conſtantiâ, curâ, ſtudio Reipublicæ quidquam illi ſimile eſſe: ut eloquentia, quâ mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur. Quanquam in hac ipſa ſapientia plus apparet: ita gravi judicio multâque arte ſe exercuit in veriſſimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem induſtria eſt, tantumque evigilat in ſtudio, ut non maxima ingenio, quod in eo ſummum eſt, gratia habenda videatur. Cic. ad Brut. i. 15.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. it is needleſs to give you a character of him; but it is impoſſible for me to paſs over in ſilence ſuch accompliſhed merit. You muſt not think to find any equal to Meſſalla with regard to probity, uniformity of principles and conduct, and a warm and firm attachment to the Republick; that eloquence, in which he greatly excels, can ſcarce find a place among ſuch a multitude of extraordinary talents which he poſſeſſes. Even in his eloquence, wiſdom ſhines forth and predominates; ſo much does ſolidity of judgment, and the moſt extenſive capacity guide him in his ſtudies, and direct him to the pureſt and moſt refined taſte. He has naturally a ſublime turn of mind; but there is joined with it an activity and aſſiduity which ſeem to diſpute with it the glory of his ſucceſſes." It was this young man ſo worthy of perſonal eſteem, and beſides honourable by his high birth, whom the Triumviri proſcribed, under a falſe pretence that he was an accomplice in Cæſar's murder. But Meſſalla had nothing to fear from their cruel injuſtice, becauſe he was in the army of Brutus. It was either upon this account, or ſhame, or the hopes of gaining him over to their party, that the Triumviri publiſhed a proclamation to the following effect: "As the relations of Meſſalla have certified to us, that he was not in Rome at the time that Cæſar was killed, we eraſe his name out of the liſt of the proſcribed." Meſſalla took no more notice of their pardon than he had done of their anger; and he remained to the end faithful to Brutus, for whom he had a reſpect and tenderneſs which nothing could efface.

Appian.

Plin. vii. 43. I muſt beg leave to ſtop here, and refer to Appian ſuch of my readers who deſire to know all the adventures of the proſcribed. I ſhall only remark briefly ſome ſingular inſtances worthy to be remembered; and I ſhall mention one Fiduſtius, who was formerly proſcribed by Sylla, and eſcaped death at that time, but unfortunately ſuffered under the Triumviri, having been anew proſcribed by them at the end of thirty years, only becauſe he had been proſcribed once before;

fore; one Nonius, who was proſcribed on account of an opal which he had of the bigneſs of a filbert, which he kept at the peril of his life, and of all that he poſſeſſed: in fine, a young child, named Atilius, whoſe riches having excited the avarice of the Triumviri, they made him put on the toga virilis, ſo that he might be reputed a man, and they proſcribed him as ſuch. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. Plin. xxxvii. 6. Appian. Dio.

Thus avarice and cruelty united together to torment the unfortunate Romans; ſo that thoſe might be reckoned happy who were permitted to ranſom their lives by immenſe ſums, which they gave to Anthony and his wife. For Fulvia made a conſiderable figure in this proſcription; and it is reported that the head of one of the ſufferers having been brought to Anthony, he ſaid, "I am not acquainted with that head; "but very likely it is an affair of my wife's." Which was really the caſe, for he was put into the fatal liſt by the orders of Fulvia, to whom he had refuſed to ſell his houſe. And that no body might doubt of the cauſe of his ſuffering, his head, inſtead of being carried to the Forum, like thoſe of the others who were proſcribed, was expoſed on the very houſe which he would not part with. Val. Max. ix. 5. Appian. Dio.

It was chiefly upon Anthony that the odium of ſo many cruel indignities fell, ſo much the more as he ſurpaſſed Octavius in age, and Lepidus in power; and beſides, he ſeemed to pique himſelf upon inſulting the publick miſeries, by thoſe exceſſes which he plunged himſelf into at that very time. His houſe, which was frequently ſhut to magiſtrates and military officers, who were rejected with ignominy, was filled with buffoons and players, and wretched flatterers, given up to the moſt ſhameful gluttony; and he ſquandered away, amongſt the worſt of mankind, that money which was the price of the blood of the moſt illuſtrious citizens. Plut. Ant.

Lepidus and Plancus were willing to ſhare with him the publick hatred by the triumph which they cauſed to be decreed to them in this conjuncture, for frivo-

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. lous exploits which they pretended to have done in Gaul. They had the barbarous inſolence, amidſt ſo many ſubjects of mourning and tears, and while the ſtreets of Rome were ſtreaming with blood, to iſſue a proclamation for publick rejoicings at their triumphs. They were Conſuls elect, and triumphed the laſt days of the year, Plancus the twenty-ninth, and Lepidus the thirty-firſt of December, both of them heartily curſed by the citizens. The ſoldiers too were of the ſame mind, and in following the chariot of the triumphers they ſung this verſe, which has been preſerved to us by Velleius: *De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant Conſules.* "It is not over the Gauls which the Conſuls triumph, but over their brothers whom they have proſcribed." The Spirit of this Latin verſe cannot be well tranſlated into another language, becauſe the word *Germani* is the Latin name for the people of Germany, and in that language alſo ſignifies brothers.

Pigh. Annal.

Vell. ii. 67.

The cruelties of triumviral Proſcription were confined within the bounds of Italy. All thoſe who could eſcape from that unfortunate country found protectors to relieve them. Brutus and Caſſius, the one in Macedonia, the other in Aſia, and Cornificius in Africa, ſaved a great number of them; but there was none more ſerviceable to them than Sextus Pompeius.

Appian. Dio.

This only heir of ſo great and unfortunate a family, after having been condemned, as I ſaid before, amongſt the authors of Cæſar's death, though they could not even impute ſo much as a ſuſpicion to him, was nevertheleſs put into the liſt of the proſcribed. He had recourſe to his ſword to be revenged of theſe unjuſt and odious proceedings; and making uſe of the title of Commander-general of the ſeas, which had been given him at a time when the Senate had ſome influence in the Republick, he aſſembled together as many veſſels as he could, and received, without diſtinction, all thoſe who were diſpoſed to ſerve him. Pyrates, ſlaves, robbers, and all were welcome to him. But beſides theſe, there were men of a different ſtamp, inhabitants

of

of the towns of Italy, who were to be ſacrificed as a recompence to the Legions of the Triumviri, who flocked together to range themſelves under him, whom they looked upon as their revenger, and augmented his forces. He ſoon found himſelf powerful enough not only to keep poſſeſſion of the ſea of Tuſcany, to pillage, make incurſions, and take veſſels in the ports of Italy, but alſo to make himſelf maſter of a part of Sicily, forcing Pompeius Bithynicus, who was then Prætor of it, to let him ſhare in the command. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

All this was done during the courſe of the Proſcription, and put him in a condition to afford the moſt favourable refuge for the proſcribed, to which he applied himſelf with great zeal and generoſity. He cauſed to be fixed up in Rome, and in all the great towns of Italy, placarts, by which he promiſed, to thoſe who ſhould ſave one of the proſcribed, double the ſum which the Triumviri gave for each head which was brought them. He ſtationed boats, barks, and ſhips of war along the coaſt, to give notice by ſignals to the unfortunate perſons who hid themſelves, and to receive all thoſe who could get on board. Whenever any of the proſcribed got to him, he received them graciouſly, furniſhed them with cloaths and all other neceſſaries, and to ſuch as were capable, gave commiſſions in his legions, or on board the fleet. He kept his faith with them to the laſt, and never made any treaty with the Triumviri afterwards, wherein the ſafety of the proſcribed, who choſe to return to their country, was not ſtipulated.

I have already obſerved, that the avarice of the Triumviri equalled their cruelty, and was even frequently the principal motive of it. The immenſe ſums which were produced from the confiſcation of the goods of the proſcribed, was not ſufficient for them; whether it was owing to their being as ill managed as they were acquired; or whether it was, that the avarice of the ſoldiers was a vaſt gulf which nothing could fill up. As the troops were ſenſible that they were neceſſary to their generals, who ſtood indiſpenſibly in

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 44. need of the force of arms, to keep poſſeſſion of a power wholly founded on violence, and deteſted by all the citizens; neither officers nor ſoldiers kept within any bounds, but gave a looſe to their deſires and extravagant demands. They not only adjudged to themſelves the greateſt part of the ſpoils of the proſcribed, but they plundered their houſes, and rendered themſelves by force the heirs of thoſe who died a natural death. In ſhort, their inſolence was carried ſo far, that Atia, the mother of Octavius, dying at that time, there was one of the ſoldiers who had the boldneſs to demand that he might ſucceed as her ſon. The Triumviri then were far from receiving as much as they expected from the ſale of the goods of the proſcribed; and after this was over, they gave notice to the people, that they muſt ſtill have eight hundred millions of ſeſterces to defray the expence of the war which they were going to undertake (ſix millions two hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand four pounds ſterling.)

In order to raiſe this ſum, there was no extortion nor rapine which they did not put in practice. Taxes upon the rich, double duties of all kinds, taking away from the veſtals treaſures intruſted to their care, oppreſſions and chicanery uſed againſt the poſſeſſors of lands and houſes, all was put in practice. Thus they amaſſed conſiderable ſums, part of which they were obliged to give a ſhare of to thoſe whoſe aſſiſtance was abſolutely neceſſary; ſo that there was an univerſal change made at that time in the fortunes of the Republick, and poſſeſſions paſſed from the hands of the rich to thoſe who but a little before had no other fund or revenue but their ſwords.

One of the moſt ſingular expedients made uſe of by the Triumviri, in order to raiſe money, was a tax on the women. I mention it here becauſe I chuſe to join together every thing which regards the violence of the Triumviri, though probably enough this was not done till the year after. They made out a liſt then of fourteen hundred ladies of the beſt quality, and the richeſt in the city, whom they ordered to make a

declaration of their eſtates, that they might be taxed with ſuch ſums as ſhould be thought proper; and this under the penalty of confiſcation to all who ſhould refuſe or make fraudulent reports; and in order to diſcover the fraud, if any ſhould be guilty of it, they promiſed a reward to ſuch as ſhould detect them. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

The ladies were not wanting to themſelves on this occaſion. They had recourſe to the protection of Octavia, the ſiſter of young Cæſar, and to Julia the mother of Anthony, of whom they received very obliging promiſes. But Fulvia, that haughty and arrogant woman, having rejected all their petitions with diſdain, they were piqued at the affront, and went to the Forum to addreſs the Triumviri themſelves. A reſpect for their birth and rank having engaged the mob, and even the guards to ſeparate and make room for them, they approached the tribunal, and Hortenſia, the daughter of the Orator Hortenſius, ſpoke in the name of all the reſt. This lady's ſpeech is to be found in Appian, and it appears to me to be too well compoſed to ſuſpect it as having been done by that author. I ſhall therefore tranſcribe it as an original, and copied after the memoirs of the times.

"We followed at firſt, ſaid Hortenſia, the laws of "modeſty which become us, in beginning by addreſ- "ſing ourſelves to perſons of our own ſex, in order "to obtain juſtice by their means. But having been "treated by Fulvia with an indecent haughtineſs, we "find ourſelves obliged to preſent our complaints im- "mediately to you.

"You have taken from us our fathers, our children, "our huſbands, and brothers; and if you take from "us our goods, you reduce us to a ſituation which is "neither ſuitable to our birth, our manner of living, "nor to our ſex. If you alledge that you have ſuf- "fered an injury from our hands, proſcribe us as you "have done the men. But if even our weakneſs juſ- "tifies us to you, if we have neither declared any of "you enemies to the publick, nor corrupted the fide- "lity of the ſoldiers, nor ſent armies againſt you, nor

"laid

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 48. " laid any difficulties in your way to thoſe honours " and offices which you have been ambitious of poſ- " ſeſſing, why ſhould we have any ſhare in the puniſh- " ment, when we had no part in the offence? And " why ſhould we be loaded with taxes, who neither " diſpute with you the power, nor command of le- " gions, nor any part of publick authority, to invade " which you carry things to ſo great exceſs?

" But you tell us that you have a war to ſupport. " And pray when has mankind been free from war? " And yet has any of them thought of impoſing a tax " on the women upon that account? The univerſal " conſent of nations has confirmed this exception, " which nature herſelf has granted us. Our anceſtors, " it is true, in the extreme exigency the Republick " was in, when attacked by Hannibal, contributed " towards the expences of the ſtate; but they did it " voluntarily. That which they gave was not levied " upon their eſtates, their dowries, and houſes, re- " ſources without which free women cannot live. " They only appropriated to it the ornaments of their " perſons. Nay further, they were neither ſubject " to any eſtimation, nor informations of accuſers. " There was neither force nor conſtraint, and they " determined freely, as well upon the quantity of the " contribution, as upon the thing itſelf. What is " then the danger which you apprehend at preſent, " with regard to the country and the empire? In caſe " there was a war with the Gauls or Parthians, you " ſhould find us ready to renew the example of our " anceſtors. But as to civil wars, the Gods forbid " that we ſhould help you with our contributions, or " facilitate the means of deſtroying one another. We " were charged with no taxes in the war between " Cæſar and Pompey; neither Cinna, nor Marius, " nor even Sylla himſelf, that tyrant of the Repub- " lick, which you pretend to reform, ever attempted " to commit ſuch a violence."

This ſpeech was too free and judicious not to diſ- pleaſe the Triumviri. They were offended at the bold-

neſs of the weaker ſex, while thoſe men who were oppreſſed durſt neither raiſe their heads, nor open their mouths. They therefore wanted to cauſe the lictors to puſh back the ladies. But the whole crowd which filled the place, ſignifying by a ſhout that they diſapproved of this violence, they put on a gentler tone, and promiſed to conſider the affair again. Their moderation, however, did not go ſo far as to retract the injuſtice fully; it was a great deal for them to retrench the number, and tax only four hundred ladies inſtead of fourteen hundred. A.R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

I have ſaid, according to Appian, that it had been regulated in the iſland of the Reno, that Octavius ſhould yield the Conſulſhip to Ventidius. He was a man worthy of the greateſt honours, if the thing had been done in a more regular manner. His fortune was indeed very ſurprizing. I have mentioned elſewhere, that he had been led in triumph, when he was almoſt a child, in the Social War, by Pompeius Strabo. It is doubtleſs that great mortification which has given occaſion to ſome to ſay, that he was of low birth; though probably he was the ſon of one of the chiefs of the allies which revolted againſt Rome. Being reduced to great miſery, he ſerved at firſt as a private ſoldier, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the loweſt rank of the army. With a view of puſhing his fortune, he undertook to furniſh mules to carry the equipages of the camp, and he ſet out to follow the low buſineſs with Cæſar's army in Gaul. That great man, who had uncommon judgment and penetration in diſtinguiſhing merit, picked out Ventidius in that obſcure ſtation. He employed him in his army, and having been pleaſed with his ſervice, when he became maſter of the Republick, he made him a Senator, then Tribune of the People, and at laſt deſigned him for Prætor for that year; the events of which I am now writing. Ventidius in his prætorſhip ſhewed himſelf, as we have ſeen, attached to Anthony, and ſerved him with fidelity and courage. In recompence he was firſt honoured with the dignity of Pontiff, and very ſoon after, Aul. Gel. xv. 4. Book xxxi.

A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43. after, by the moſt ſingular diſtinction, and contrary to all rules, he was advanced to the rank of Conſul, while he was actually inveſted with the charge of Prætor. His promotion to the Conſulſhip, compared with his former condition, occaſioned a great deal of murmurings; and we find in Aulus Gellius, verſes upon this ſubject ſcattered among the publick. "Come * hither, ſays the poet, all you who are ſkilled in the art of explaining prodigies. A very extraordinary one has juſt now happened. He who dreſſed mules is become a Conſul.". This man, the object of the deriſion of low jeſters, is nevertheleſs the only Roman, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to relate, who, till the time that Plutarch wrote, had triumphed over the Parthians. He only enjoyed the Conſulſhip during a part of the month of December, together with C. Corinnas, formerly one of Cæſar's lieutenants in Spain, who was deputed in the room of Q. Pedius.

Appian. Dio. The Triumviri followed Cæſar's maxims in multiplying the nominations of offices, in order to reward a greater number of ſubjects. Thus the Prætorſhip of Ventidius, as ſoon as he became Conſul, was given to one of the Ædiles; and all the Prætors were obliged to lay down their offices five days before the end of the year, in order that others might be put in their places for this ſhort time, and thereby enjoy both the title and rank of the antient Prætors.

The tyrannical government of the Triumviri was the object of the publick hatred. But they who deteſted it in private, adorned it in the Senate by honourary decrees, which fear alone extorted from them. They yielded to them all the honours formerly beſtowed on the benefactors and ſaviours of the State; and particularly decreed them Civic crowns, which after all the blood they had ſhed in Rome and Italy, became only the monuments and reproaches of their cruelty.

* Concurrite omnes augures, haruſpices:
Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens,
Nam mulos qui fricabat, Conſul factus eſt.

M. Æmilius Lepidus, II. A. R. Ant. 42.
L. Munatius Plancus.

Lepidus, with the conſent of his collegues, had aſſumed the place of Conſul, which D. Brutus, named by Cæſar, had left vacant by his death. Plancus too enjoyed the benefit of Cæſar's nomination. They both therefore took poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip the firſt of January. But there was no equality between the two Conſuls, for the triumviral power gave Lepidus a ſuperiority, which reduced Plancus to a dependence, that left him only the ſhadow of a Conſulſhip; and all the Conſuls which followed, found themſelves almoſt in the ſame caſe with Plancus. The laſt citizens who enjoyed, properly ſpeaking, the Conſular authority, were thoſe of the preceding year, Hirtius and Panſa.

The Triumviri were greatly intereſted to render reſpectable the memory of Cæſar, whoſe partizans and avengers they declared themſelves to be, and to whoſe place each of them aſpired. From this motive they renewed and confirmed all the honours which had been decreed to him, and beſides added ſome new ones which I ſhall not trouble the reader with the diſagreeable detail of. I ſhall only obſerve, that they introduced that year a cuſtom which ever after continued. For, the firſt of January, they ſwore to obſerve the acts of Cæſar, and made others do the like. According to this example every year on the ſame day, as long as the form of government eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus ſubſiſted, they renewed this oath in the name of the reigning Emperor, and of all his predeceſſors, excepting thoſe who had been diſgraced by a decree of the Senate.

All the precautions which Cæſar had taken to eſtabliſh his power, ſerved as rules and models for the Triumviri. Thus in imitation of him they appointed magiſtrates for ſeveral years; by which means they made themſelves new creatures, and confirmed their power by eſtabliſhing for a long time all the branches of

710. of authority in the hands of thoſe who were attached to them.

But the chief affair which employed them was the war againſt Brutus and Caſſius, whoſe forces gave them, very juſtly, great diſquiet. I have already related the firſt and rapid increaſe of the party of theſe two irreconcileable enemies to tyranny. They became ſtill ſtronger, and performed a great many remarkable things during the laſt months of the preceding year, and the firſt months of that we are now entered upon; for which reaſon we muſt now give an account of them.

BRITISH MUSEUM 22 APR 47

END of the NINTH VOLUME.